900

ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES

9

1939

Edited and published by
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DIRECTOR, GOTHENBURG ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

[title page]

Myths and Tales of the Matako Indians

(The Gran Chaco, Argentina)

by

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PREFACE

114 I recorded the myths and tales presented here during an expedition in the Argentinian Chaco in 1933. I went there with the purpose of studying the Toba-Pilagá Indians living on the Pilcomayo, especially those around the marshy region known as Esteros Patiños. My numerous trips to the Chaco often brought me into contact with Matako Indians, who are widely spread in the Argentinian Chaco along the Bermejo and the upper stream of the Pilcomayo. At that time I had no intention of studying the Matako as I expected my investigations among the Toba to absorb all of my time. But many times, owing to the bad communications existing in the Chaco, or more frequently to the indolence of the white settlers, I was delayed at some place near a Matako encampment. To kill time I made some observations of the Matako. I made a special effort to obtain from them tales and myths because very little is known of the folklore of these Indians. The short and casual interviews with these Indians were rather productive and in relatively few days I obtained a variety of myths, tales, and legends. During the recording of this material I had frequent opportunities to ask questions about matters touched upon in the tales. The discussions sometimes provoked fresh questions and led to subjects that

114 I had not planned to investigate. I hoped that the notes I took then would be useful for a more systematic and complete study of the Matako in the future. I should never have thought of publishing these tales and documents had I not good reason to believe that there is little chance for me to return to the Chaco.[1] Even if destiny should take me again to that country, I do not know whether the same material would be available. The disappearance of the old native cultures in South America is rapid, especially among tribes of a low cultural level.

177 The Matako, more than any other Chaco tribe, have been exposed to the degrading influence of white colonists, but
797 there still remain some villages, especially on the upper
181 Pilcomayo and on the middle course of the Bermejo, where the natives live according to ancient standards. Those who had their villages along the »linea», the new railway between Formosa and Embarcación, were the most miserable wretches that I saw in South America. Generous English missionaries try with very precarious means to rescue the Indians by extending to them the protection of the Mission stations and by helping during the critical period of transition from their native culture toward a new form of life. The mission work among the Matako has proved most successful. The Indians have shown extraordinary aptitude and under the direction of the English missionaries they display remarkable talents in crafts that they ignored completely a few years ago. Their zest for instruction has always been deep and their enthusiasm must sometimes be moderated. The rapidity and ease with which the Matako adapt themselves to our modern civilization remains one of the most puzzling problems that I
181 met with in South America. Seen in their native environment the Matako seem to be the most irreducible tribe of the Chaco. Even their physical aspect carries an impression of

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[1] I was unable to check many of the ethnological data given in the notes. To make them scientifically available I have reproduced the information in the very terms of the Indians.

primitiveness more accentuated than that of other tribes. 181
They are among the dirtiest peoples of South America, and [516]
in the sense of cleanliness they are inferior to the Toba.

Matako material culture does not differ markedly from 171
that of any of the other Chaco tribes. Their weapons are the
same, their houses of the common beehive type, and their 105
craftsmanship is hardly distinguishable from that of their neighbors. Judged outwardly, the Matako might be confused with the mass of Chaco cultures. A keen observer notices a slight superiority in the agriculture of the Matako,as compared with the Toba. The distinctive character of Matako culture may only be appreciated in contrast with that of the Toba-Pilagá. While the Matako are generally peaceful the Toba are warlike and have almost always been the conquerors in the far distant regions. However, it cannot be said that the Matako have not also fought bravely against their enemies or that they are lacking in military tradition. Still the contrast between them is striking even to an observer like myself who has spent only a short time among these Indians. The difference between these apparently identical cultures lies primarily in the stressing of religion and magic among the Matako in contrast with the relative unimportance of like interests among the Toba. Although built on the same pattern as that of the Toba, the culture of the Matako is interwoven with ceremonial activities, ritual dances, and expulsion of spirits. It is almost impossible to stay with a group of Matako more than one day without having the opportunity to attend some ceremony. The traditional blowing of medicine-men upon the sick occurs among the Matako as among other Chaco tribes. It is always associated with dances together with spells of magic and has rarely the individual character of the same ceremony among the Toba. Not only are the peformances of Matako medicine-men more impressive than those of other tribes in the same area, the external appearance of the medicine-man and his assistants denotes the great importance given to ritual details and

171 accessories. The performers wear red wool frontlets trimmed 105 with feathers on their heads, on their waists are feather belts, and rattles are tied on their feet. The magical power is attributed to every ornament, a belief less apparent among other Indians. So far as I know the Matako are the only Chaco tribe in which the medicine-men use narcotics. They use as snuff a powder made from the seeds of the *sebil* and through its use produce a state of trance during which their souls wander through the upper world. They wage collective war against disease and spirits and all of the ceremonies have a highly symbolical character. The Matako are very keen observers of taboos, mourning, for instance, is to them a very serious matter. This general interest in religion and the stress of religious beliefs in the native culture reveals itself in the Matako attitude toward Christianity. It is the general opinion of all of the missionaries with whom I discussed the question that the Matako are most eager to accept protestantism and that those who take the new faith do so seriously. They are not only interested in the exterior manifestations of religion, but they understand perfectly the moral problems and the subtilities of faith. The Matako who ask for baptism do so because they feel a genuine need for religion and the converted Indians do their best to adapt their living to new rules. The attitude of the Toba is quite different. They are amused by religion, they realize the help to be obtained from the missionaries, but they do not worry over much about the faith itself. They are light-hearted and and apathetic toward religion. The contrast between the two tribes has always impressed me and I noticed it immediately when I started to inquire about medicine-men. Information proffered by the Matako was always more detailed and extensive than that given by the Toba. The importance of religion to the Matako is not only revealed in spiritual crises; in the soul of a new convert modern religion affects his old life deeply.

000 I am aware that the ethnological material I gathered

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

I am aware that the ethnological material I gathered[5] among the Matako is too disconnected and fragmentary to be published by itself. I prefer to present it as I obtained it, as notes to the tales. We know so little about the Matako ethnology that even incomplete as these documents are they may be useful and seem to me worth publishing. 114

The myths and tales published here were transmitted to me by two informants, Pedro and Martin. Both spoke fairly good Spanish and had lived for many years in contact with white men or mestizoes without breaking their ties with the tribes. Of the two informants Pedro was the more deeply merged in native life. He had his hut near the little village of Las Lomitas, the station of the new railway between Formosa and Embarcación. His hut betrayed the initiative of its owner and his will to accept and adapt himself to new conditions. It was built according to the usual Argentinian pattern and very little in it denoted that the inhabitants were Indians. Despite the transformation of the old grass shack into a wooden hut, however, and the iron household wares, the life of Pedro and his family and his neighbors continued in the old pattern. One compartment of the hut was devoted to a mourning wife who observed complete seclusion. Every evening the small hamlet, from which one could see passing trains, was filled with the hoarse grunts of medicine-men. Near the modernized settlement other Indians of the same stock had built a grass village in the ancient fashion and bows and arrows were stuck into the ground ready for hunting or fishing. Pedro was a very intelligent fellow who realized the advantages of learning Spanish and of buying iron instruments from the stores, but he had not lost the sentiments of an Indian. He felt deeply the injuries inflicted upon him daily by white men. Pedro had an open mind, a great sense of dignity and justice, and a deep desire to improve his condition and that of his family. He was as friendly and kind as most Indians are when they do not assume the attitude of beaten dogs. 115

Martin was an entirely different personality. He was very

115 old—the oldest Indian in the mission I believe. Esteemed by everyone, he had developed a consciousness of his respectability that was sometimes a bit comic. He spoke with poise, choosing elegant and sophisticated words the meanings of which he never really understood. His language was a slight parody on the affected speech of certain colonists. In his youth he had lived with his tribe which was still independent of and untouched by European civilization, but later in life, like many intelligent Indians, he deemed it useful and convenient to join the white settlers for a while. He was among the first natives to help the missionaries and became one of the first and best Christians of the Missions. Martin's long contact with mestizo settlers and later with missionaries made of him an informant of lesser value than Pedro. His tales were generally twisted so that they would fit to the new type of living which had developed in Martin's community. In working with me he tried to rationalize the old lore of his tribe as if I were a colonist with no experience in Indian ways. However, his contribution is valuable because he was an old man extremely well informed in primitive customs of his tribe.

177 Martin's tales are not all Indian, although I expressed to him several times my desire to have only native lore. He 538 told me many tales of distinctly European origin. He always insisted that they were known by other Indians and consequently were genuine. As some of these European tales had been told my be Pedro who also denied their foreign source, one may consider them as having been incorporated into the modern folklore of the Indians. Often Indian elements as well as Indian characters in such tales (for instance, the Rainbow playing the part of an Ogre) point out that European motifs have been worked up by the native story tellers and readjusted to the environment. For that reason I feel that tales of recent introduction should not be neglected. They may give precious hints as to the diffusion of European stories among the natives of America, and indicate the way they have been integrated into native culture. The intro-

duction of these tales to the Matako is quite recent since the 177 Indians have been in regular touch with white settlers for 538 only thirty or forty years.

The most important character in the Matako tales is familiar to all students of North American ethnology — he is 538 the Trickster. His Matako name is *Takxwax*, *Tokxwax* or 171 *Tawkxwax*, according to the region. The last form which I have adopted is used at Algarrobal, near Embarcación. My two informants agreed that *Tawkxwax* was a »loco» a fool and by this word they meant a practical joker, a person who likes to play harmful tricks on people. The bad people in the region were always referred to as »locos». The adventures of *Tawkxwax* strongly suggest those of the famous tricksters of North American ethnology. The resemblance is even more accentuated in the tales of other tribes. In the mythology of the Toba Pilagá the tricks or the adventures are attributed to the fox who is the South American equivalent of the Coyote. The perfect parallels between the stories concerning *Tawkxwax* and those in which the fox is the hero are so numerous and striking that I often tried to make the Matako confess that *Tawkxwax* was the fox of the other tribes. They always denied my identification and insisted that *Tawkxwax* was a man.

Everyone familiar with North American folklore will recognize in these tales many similarities between the Chaco tales and those which constitute the rich oral literature of North American tribes. I am too little acquainted with North American ethnology to draw parallels ~~but no~~ doubt they are numerous. The essential part played by the Trickster in mythology is a feature which cannot be neglected. Parallels between North American and South American Indian tales will be more obvious when I am able to issue the mythology of the Toba Pilagá that I had the opportunity to study more systematically and thoroughly than the Matako. The Matako mythology is only a short introduction to a more rich and complete material.

171 I must stress here that the material and the spiritual culture of the Chaco tribes — half nomadic, living on mesquite, game and fish — recalls many of the conditions prevailing among North American tribes, especially those in California and certain aspects of these of the prairies. Most of the parallels which have been drawn between North American and South American ethnology rest on the culture of the very tribes among whom I was lucky enough to get the tales which I present here.

000 Once more I should like to call the attention of ethnologists to the abundance of material which still may be collected in South America. For a few years more there will remain the opportunity to study primitive Indian cultures functioning in their entirety. But the extraordinary riches of South American ethnology are being wasted and lost. Every year sees the passing of a tribe or of a culture. Old medicine-men, knowing the traditions of their groups, die without transmitting their knowledge. Thus the chances of scrutinizing the past culture of America grow fewer each year. South America is the least known of all the continents and its tribes are the most mysterious peoples. May I give the alarm before it is too late to grasp the now plentiful material?

104 Unfortunately I had little opportunity to study the phonetics of the Matako language, and I am convinced that my transcriptions might be improved. I used the following system of transcription for the native words.

č is more or less like the Spanish »ch», but slightly palatalized.

x is a surd velar fricative.

k is an aspirated back palatal.

L is the voiceless »l».

ʔ stands for the glottal stop. Glottalized consonants, though existing in Matako, do not appear in the words quoted in this paper. The vowel *a* has a different quality according to the region. Along the Pilcomayo is *a* a mid-back narrow sound quite near the open »o».

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

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˜ on a vowel indicates nasalization.

ʹ on a vowel marks the accentuation.

As far as possible I tried to give the pronunciation of the region of Embarcación, though Pedro spoke another dialect. [97]

A. THE UNIVERSE

1. The Upper and the Lower World (Pedro)

There are two worlds, one above and the other below. 772 Once the world above our heads was in the place of the 539x earth where we live. But the earth (still further) below did not like to be soiled by the excrement of the people dwell- 773x ing in the sky and therefore it changed places with the earth above. Formerly sky and earth were connected by a big tree (*niLɔk*). The men of this earth climbed up it and went to hunt in the world above. Once a number of them climbed up and succeeded in killing a jaguar. When they divided the meat, they foolishly gave the stomach to an old man. He was so indignant at getting such a miserable portion that he burned the tree, thereby avenging himself. The men who had climbed up could not get down and they still live in the sky. They are a constellation formed by many stars (Pleiades: *patseLai*).

When these first people went to the sky to hunt, they left their children at home. A mother, knowing she would never again rejoin her child on earth, threw him from the sky a deer skin bag filled with honey. The children grew up, they were our fathers.

2. The Compartments of the World (Pedro)

The world is divided into three compartments; the earth the sky and the underworld. In the underworld there are fields like those we have here. The underworld is the abode of the dead. We know it is because we can go there in our dreams to visit our dead relatives. The medicine-men also

772 know it. When the sun does not shine upon the earth, it
x773 goes down to the underworld. Then the stars and the moon
x539 climb out and shine on the earth.

B. DESTRUCTION OF THE WORLD

3. The Great Flood (Pedro)

x539 The rainbow doesn't like menstruating women. Once a
x773 menstruating woman was killed and eaten by the rainbow.
As a consequence there were heavy rains and a great flood. When the water receded large pools remained as witnesses of that flood.

4. The Great Fire (Pedro)

On the horizon at the end of the world, there are great fires that burn day and night with no one to tend them. On these fires are large pots in which food is always cooking. There is no one to put the pots on or to remove them. An old man who was travelling in that country saw the pots, but he was not allowed to go near them.

One must never speak of prairies with high grass as the fire would hear and spread itself through the world as it did once before. At that time it burned all the animals and plants. A man and a woman escaped by diving into the water and concealing themselves in the bed of a river. When they left the water they found nothing, not even a tree in whose shade they could sit. A little bird (*tapiatsón*) took his drum and started to beat it close to the stump of a *sopxwayúk* tree[1] just as the Matako do when the algarroba (Prosopis juliflora) is ripening. The trunk grew higher and higher until after a score of days it was a tree with leaves whose shade sheltered the new men. With the tree the forest began to grow again and after a while the world was the same as before. The animals returned by themselves — the whole world had not been destroyed, only that section between Manzanillo and Pozo del Tigre.

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[1] In Spanish, *palo zapallo*

539x
773x

5. The Great Fire (second version) (Martin)

Formerly people were animals. They were ostriches (Rhea americana), *chuña* (Chunga burmeisterii) and small birds; these were the people of those days. These people said, »Let us go to the land where there are many people.» They were real people, but larger than the men of our day and made of fire. The men who walked in that country were not allowed to make any noise, to speak or to laugh, because those first men were very sensitive. The animal people went to visit these first men. Their children were sitting in front of their doors. The *hornero* (Furnarius R. Rufus) was a little bird who liked to laugh continually. When the children of those first men sat down, light flared from their bottoms. The *hornero* laughed and laughed at this, but his fellows warned him, »Do not laugh so much or they will burn us.» The children heard the *hornero* laughing and they went to their fathers to report that some people had come to make fun of them. Then the first men took fire to burn the others and the world burst into flame. Only the ostrich and the *chuña* succeeded in escaping. The bird *takiatsa* (a red bird with blackish spots) hid in the ground. When the fire died down he came out. He sought and found ashes of the algarroba. The earth was barren, there were no trees to give shade. Everyday the bird sang and sang and three days later the ashes grew into a tree. The bird made the algarroba tree grow so he could have some shade. These birds are still living in the algarroba trees and there are still many of them in this country.

6. The Great Darkness (Pedro)

Once upon a time night lasted for three weeks. No one could see and men were hungry. They ate hides. In order

X539 to get water they had to follow ropes to the river. There X773 were heavy storms and hail stones hurled through the roofs and the wind blew huts away. Many people died.

7. The Sun (Pedro)

X539 The sun is a big medicine-man. When he is angry the X773 world turns to darkness. The sun has two huts one of which he leaves in the morning. The other is situated on the side 821 where he goes to sleep. Out of this hut a staircase of five hundred steps leads down under the ground. The sun always goes back to his starting point by an underground passage.

During the summer the days are long because the sun is an old man who walks slowly and with difficulty. It takes him a long time to make his trip. In the winter the sun is a boy who can run quickly. That is why the days are short.

When the sun makes his fire with *palo santo* wood it gets very hot on the earth. The sun is not, but he has a big fire and it is the heat from this fire which we feel on earth. In summer it is hot and the sun scorches the algarroba. When the algarroba is quite dry the sun unleashes a storm in order that the fruit may fall, then it becomes hot again for another harvest. The two harvests of the sun correspond to those of men. (Another explanation of heat is that somewhere very far away there is a big ship, like those on the Bermejo, and it is the smoke of these ships that is the heat.)

8. The Moon (Pedro)

The full moon is old, worn out and tired. Like old people, he walks slowly. When he gets very old he dies, then comes a storm. Afterwards he is born again. All men are the children of the moon. Before he dies he sends them a reminder. [841] That is why women menstruate when the moon dies.

The moon is a great thief. He always steals something, 554'
cows in particular. Once the men got angry and wanted to 773x
kill him. The sun said, »I don't wish you to kill my friend
but if you do I will go away.» The men were afraid and 821
they let the moon eat the cows.

The moon had sexual intercourse with a woman. That is [841]
why women menstruate. From the intercourse of the moon with that woman a boy and girl were born. They were the first people.

If a woman dreams about an old man she will find that [787
she is menstruating when she wakens. Her soul has had intercourse with the moon who is very old and looks like an 841]
old man. Each month when a woman is about to menstruate, she dreams about that old man.

9. Sun and Moon (Pedro)

The sun and the moon are friends. The sun helps and protects the moon. If anybody wants to kill the moon, the sun says, »He is my friend, I will kill you.» The sun went off to catch lice. He found white lice and gave some of them to the moon. The moon was not satisfied with these lice and said. »I am an expert in catching lice.» He went off, but he did'nt return. The sun said, »What is the matter with the moon?» He went to look for him. He found the moon very ill. One of the lice the moon had caught had bored a big hole in his head. The sun brought a comb, dressed his hair and the moon was well again. (VIII, p. 97).[1]

10. Why the Moon is Yellow (Pedro)

The sun wanted spears. He dived into a river and changed himself into a big yellow fish (*atsa*).[2] When the Indians saw this fish they tried to kill him with spears. The back of the

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[1] Roman figures refer to the notes beginning on on p. 90.

[2] A *dorado* fish.

x539
x773
821

fish was full of spears but he could not be killed. The fish swam off with the spears in his body and distributed them among his people. The moon was not satisfied with the spears he received and he said, »I also can find spears. I am an expert in finding spears.» So the moon went to a river and changed himself into a fish. Men came and drove more than thirty spears into his body. The moon died. The men hauled him ashore, cut him into pieces and ate him. The sun said to himself, »What has happened to the moon?» He went to look for the moon and arrived in the village of the people who were eating the moon. As he watched them eating the moon, he changed himself into a dog and picked up all these bones. Unsuccessfully he tried to reform the moon but there were pieces missing, so he went back again and found the heart. One piece was still missing, it was the gallbladder. He found it at last and that is why the moon is yellow.

11. The Spots on the Moon (Pedro)

The sun wanted some ducks. He made a big net and changed himself into a duck. In this disguise he went to a lagoon where there were many ducks. He swam among the ducks and from time to time he dived under the water drawing a bird down with his net. He killed each one without being noticed by the others. He went back with many ducks which he distributed among the people of his village. He sent an old one to his friend the moon. The moon was not satisfied with this present and decided to go hunting for himself. Like the sun he made a big net and changed himself into a duck. But the ducks in the meantime had become distrustful and wanted to know who the mysterious enemy was who was bothering them. They defecated and obliged the moon to do the same. The odor of the moon's excrement is very offensive and quite different from that of the ducks. The birds recognized the moon and gathered to attack him. They scratched his body with their nails and

claws and lacerated him in such a way that they almost 539
pulled out his bowels. Hence on the moon's stomach one 773X
can see blue scars left by the claws of the ducks. 821

12. The Constellations (Pedro)

In the sky there are two stars which are very near each other. They are called *tseʔyés* and they are said to be brothers. These brothers have a hunting dog which followed a flock of ostriches. Hearing the noise of the hunt one of the brothers went to look for the dog but could not find him. »Where is my dog?», he asked himself. »I did hear him.» The ostriches went up into the sky and the dog followed them. An ostrich feather, dyed red, fell down showing the brother where his dog was. The brother did not know what to do. The other brother came and said, »Let us go up there to get our dog, I am very fond of him.» He took his brother on his shoulders and they both ascended. First they went westward and there they were very near the dog but they did not see him as he had gone eastward following the ostriches. When they went toward the east, the dog crossed over to the south. The brothers went south at about 3 o'clock in the morning. In the summer time the brothers go out very late, but in the winter they may be seen at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

A man built a corral which became a group of stars that appear by night.

Near the Ostrich (the Constellation of the Ostriches or the Pleiades) there is a leg in the sky. The Pleiades *patseLai* are the people who formerly inhabited the earth and who now live in the heavens. They warm themselves round a log which is constantly burning in the sky. The fire runs lengthwise along the log and never goes out. If any one should touch that log it would explode. It is of *palo santo* wood and therefore burns very slowly. The ashes fall on the ground and constitute frost.

Venus is the father of all the stars.

13. Origin of the Southern Cross and the Pleiades (Martin)

X 773
X 539
821

The jaguar's daughter married the deer. She had two sons by him. One night the mother jaguar killed the deer and brought back a piece of him to her daughter. The daughter recognized her husband. The two sons of the deer broke away from the sons of the jaguar, they started to fight. The sons of the deer in revenge killed the children of the jaguar and took the meat to their grandfather to eat. Then they ran away and shouted, »Our grandfather is eating the flesh of his own children.» The jaguar jumped up to catch them, but the young ones were prepared for him. They had collected a heap of arrows. They shot an arrow into the sky. It remained fast. Then they shot another one which stuck to the butt of the first and so on until a ladder had been formed which reached down to the earth. When the jaguar was about to seize them they climbed the ladder up to the sky. There they were saved. Their mother was in pain. The mother had also climbed up to the sky. The children of the deer are the Pleiades and their mother is the Southern Cross.[1]

14. The Rain

The rain is a man who has a red fringed poncho in which he wraps himself when it rains. He rides about on a mule, his head entirely covered by his poncho the fringes of which are the rain. When he lifts his poncho to see the way his eyes flash lightning. The thunder is the roll of his drum. He never stops travelling and wherever he is there is rain. Upon his departure from a place the rain ceases. The rain especially dislikes the *quebracho* tree. He dares not strike this tree lest his testicles be cut by the falling tree. His wife alone is entrusted with the destruction of these trees.

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[1] Stars like crosses which appear near the Pleiades in the morning in the middle of September

15. The Wind (Pedro)

The wind is a man riding on a bad, fast horse. This explains the rapidity with which the wind travels. 773x 539x 821

16. The Clouds (Pedro)

The clouds are formed by the smoke from the many fires lighted on the earth. The storm clouds are the smoke of the rain.

17. The Star-women (Pedro)

Once there was a man so ugly that no woman would marry him. One night his mother heard him speaking with a woman. The following morning she asked, »With whom were you talking last night?» She did not know that the woman was the daughter of »The two brothers»[1]. The son remained silent. The mother asked again, »Who was she?» but he still refused to answer. Every night the star-woman would leave her home in the heavens, visit her lover, and then return. She combed his hair and gave him necklaces. Finally the man became good looking. All the women fell in love with him but he would have nothing to do with them as they had despised him when he was ugly. The star-woman took him to the sky with her as her husband. He met his wife's family. One day his wife and the women of her family went to pick wild beans. Before she left the star-woman said, »Do not touch the fire, it is bad, it will burn you.» The man did not obey her, he touched the fire which exploded. He fell down dead. His wife put his head and bones in a bag and dropped it near the house of his father and mother. The bag full of bones fell with a thud. The mother seeing what was in the bag knew her son was dead so she buried his bones. 539x 773x

x539

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[1] Name of a constellation.

18. The Star-woman (second version) (Martin)

x773 There was a man who was very ugly. Nobody liked him. One night he stood where the others were playing. Looking upward he saw in the sky a pretty red star. He said, »I would like to marry her.» As soon as he had made this wish the star stood near him. The woman said, »I came because you called me.» He told her that he loved her. They were married. But after a few days they quarreled. The woman went back to the sky and the man followed her.

[821] The Morning Star is an old man who has a big fire. His fire is cold. The star-woman was the daughter of the Morning Star. In the sky it is very cold. The father of the star-woman burned his son-in-law and ate him. [825] His soul entered an owl called *tyustáx* which says »wek, wek, wek.»

C. THE TRICKSTER

19. Origin of the Corn

539 x773 243 *Tawkxwax* sowed only one gourd in his field. The armadillo went to him and asked for a seed, but *Tawkxwax* refused to give it. The armadillo then cut off the end of his own tail, which was covered with granulous scales, and stuck it in the soil. Beautiful corn stalks soon sprouted from the ground. At that time the armadillo was the only one who had corn. *Tawkxwax* had gourds, melons, sorghum, sugarcane, peanuts, oranges, bananas, but no corn. He called on the armadillo and begged for some grains of corn, but the armadillo refused because *Tawkxwax* had been stingy when he had wanted some gourd seeds. Besides he never gave anybody his new plants. *Tawkxwax* went for a walk to a forest. He got tired and sat down beside a *yuchan*[1] tree. He started to carve this tree into the shape of a horse. He changed the wood into a living animal. In the same way he made a saddle, reins and bridle. Then he set out on

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[824] [1] Bombaceae, silk cotton tree. The trunk has the form of a bottle; hence the popular name of the tree, *palo borracho* (drunk wood).

horseback. The people did not know what a horse was as 539x
they had never seen one. *Tawkxwax* was hungry so he went
to the armadillo's house. There he succeeded in trading his 773x
horse for corn. With the corn in his possession, he called 243
all the men together and distributed corn among them. He taught them how to cultivate it. The people at first were afraid. Many thought the plant was poisonous. Others said it was very good food. Finally all were convinced and from that day on people have always had something to eat. Mankind is indebted to *Tawkxwax* for food.

A man who heard of *Tawkxwax's* horse went to the forest
in order to carve one for himself. He carved the *yuchan* [825]
so awkwardly that he made a tapir. Thus also did men
make mules and donkeys.

20. Origin of Certain Wild Plants

Tawkxwax climbed a *yuchan* and fell down head first. 539x
As he fell the thorns of the tree tore his body. He removed 773x
his stomach from his body and buried it. From it grew a
plant (*iletsáx*) the root of which is very large and full of water. 824
His intestines became lianas. Like a cow *Tawkxwax* had two stomachs. With the second he made a plant called *iwokanó*.

21. The Origin of Serpents (Pedro)

In ancient times there were no serpents. One day *Tawkxwax* 539x
found a thick rope. He picked it up but threw it away later 773x
on. After a while, thinking it might be useful, he went
back to get it. He looked and looked but he could not find 825
the rope. At last he found a serpent and thought that perhaps it might be the rope he wanted. A serpent is therefore called *niyǫ́k* or rope. *Tawkxwax* wanted see whether this new animal he found could bite so he began to tease it. The serpent did not bite him. He held fire to the mouth of the serpent until it bit him severely. The first serpent he made poisonous was the *yarara* (*hatenekwę́mę*). When the other

x539 x773 825 serpents heard of this they went to *Tawkxwax* and wanted him to heat their mouths too. *Tawkxwax* heated the mouths of the *lančitąx, katitsul* (rattlesnake of the bush) and the coral *čalaxčetáx* The *aguara* (*iwalęk*) remained a very harmless serpent as he was afraid and ran away when *Tawkxwax* began to heat his mouth. The serpents which did not come to *Tawkxwax* to have their mouths heated are not dangerous at all (XI, p. 98).

22. Why There Are Poisonous Serpents (Pedro)

Formerly serpents were harmless and they would have remained so had it not been for *Tawkxwax*. He is a fool, a trickster. He got the silly idea of taking a live serpent and heating its mouth. From time to time he let it bite him in order to see the results of his burning. He would not stop until the fangs of the serpent were full of poison. Then the serpent bit him and *Tawkxwax* became very ill. Since then serpents have been dangerous.

23. Origin of the Sting-ray (Pedro)

One day as *Tawkxwax* was walking by the side of a lagoon he found a piece of leather. He picked it up, looked at it and threw it into the water. Shortly afterwards he decided he wanted the piece of leather but could not find it. He put his hands in the water to feel for it and was stung. He saw that he had been stung by a sting-ray and realized that the piece of leather had changed into a sting-ray.

24. Why the Mistol Trees Walk No More (Pedro)

x539 x773 In days gone by mistol[1] trees could walk. They could be driven along by people shouting or making a noise to frighten them. They would hop and fly just like grass-

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[824] [1] Mistol (*Zizyphus Mistol*) is very useful to the Matako. They eat its fruits and with its ashes they make alkali which they chew together with coca leaves.

hoppers. *Tawkxwax* got the idea he would fasten the trees 539^{x} to the ground so that they could not run away. So the trees 173^{x} were fixed to the ground and thus they lost their power to move, the power which had been so useful to men before.

25. The Iguana and Tawkxwax (Pedro)

Formerly the tail of the iguana was very long. *Tawkxwax* set out to catch him but at first he could only succeed in stepping on his tail. At last he caught him but the iguana escaped, leaving its tail in his fingers.

26. Tawkxwax and the Menstruating Men (Pedro)

The earth was under water. Rain made beer and invited everybody to the feast. All the guests came dressed in their most beautiful clothes. The mosquitoes had red mantles (ponchos) but they would not tell how they had stained them because they feared that the rain would be angry with them. They had dyed their mantles with human blood. Although *Tawkxwax* was a wealthy man and had great riches and wonderful garments under the ground, he appeared at the feast in old rags. Offended the rain insulted *Tawkxwax* who went home to change his clothes. When he returned to the feast he had on a poncho, a hat with a broad brim, a handkerchief and splendid boots. The rain became jealous and thought that *Tawkxwax* was too smart. He tried to strike him with lightning. *Tawkxwax* who could not understand why the rain was acting so strangely, cut a branch, sharpened it and put it into the barrel of a [177] Remington gun. Taking careful aim with this weapon he ran after the rain. The rain knowing of the wickedness of *Tawkxwax* asked himself, »Where can I go?» He climbed a tree and from it climbed to the sky. Thus chased into the sky, the rain has not come back because he is still afraid of *Tawkxwax*.

27. Death and the Ressurection of Tawkxwax (Pedro)

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Tawkxwax could walk under water. Once he made a long journey under water. He got tired and died. But before dying he threw off his skin, skull and bones. He took another body and lived again. *Tawkxwax* is like a god. Like a serpent he can change his skin and still live.

28. Tawkxwax and the Old Woman (Martin)

Tawkxwax followed the trail of some people who went fishing. On the trail he met an old woman. He said, »Aunt how are the boys?» »They are allright, they are shooting fish.» The woman took her bag from her head and gave him a fish. *Tawkxwax* kept the fish and changed his face. He met the same woman for a second time. »Aunt how are you?» »Very well, thank you.» »And your family?» Fine, they are fishing.» The woman offered him a fish. *Tawkxwax* kept the fish and changed his face again. For the third time he went to the woman. When the woman saw the handsome man she became suspicious and said, »I know you now, you are *Tawkxwax* and you want to fool me.» Then she ran away quickly.

29. Tawkxwax and the Wild Pigs (Pedro)

The skunk (*tüxwanáx*) made a drum and organized a great feast to which he invited all the wild pigs. They danced in a circle, as the Indians do, with *Tawkxwax* in the center. When they got very excited the skunk lost some of their fur. The people noticed the terrible odor, but they did not know where it was coming from. A little later on the skunk began to whirl round and round by himself and some of his fur fell off. The odor killed all of the wild pigs present at the feast. More than a hundred pigs were killed in this manner. All the people of the skunk's village were called in to help him skin the wild pigs. After they were skinned he distributed the meat to his people and gave *Tawkxwax*

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773x

a young pig. *Tawkxwax* was not satisfied with his share and decided to show the people that he too could kill wild pigs with his hair. He made a drum and invited the pigs. When he was dancing he let his hair fall, but his hair had no odor and furthermore, the hogs had become distrustful. They ran away with the exception of a young pig which *Tawkxwax* killed with his club. He left the pig lying on the ground and went to his village to tell them he had killed many pigs and invite them to come and help him carry them. The people went with him but they found only the young pig. *Tawkxwax* looked very surprised and said that he could not explain the disappearance of the pigs; they must have come to life and run away leaving only the young pig. To prove his story he showed them the footprints of the hogs. He was then known as a great hunter.

30. Tawkxwax and the Jaguar (Martin)

The Trickster went out for a walk. He heard a jaguar roaring. He said, »What is the matter with you? Why are you roaring?» He called the jaguar and the animal came immediately. *Tawkxwax* asked, »Why do you roar all day long? Are you hungry? If you are you can eat my flesh and leave my bones, but we shall go to your den.» The jaguar accepted *Tawkxwax's* proposal, but *Tawkxwax* said, »It would be better if I rode on your back so I will not be tired and my flesh will be more tender.» The jaguar replied, »All right, ride on me.» The jaguar carried him to the den. *Tawkxwax* said, »Let me go in, give me room to go in this hole.» He was saying to himself, »I will change into a humming bird.» The jaguar became suspicious, he said, »*Tawkxwax*, what are you doing? Are you asking for mercy?» The jaguar felt that *Tawkxwax* was planning to escape. *Tawkxwax* said, »I am only crying before I die.» Then he shouted, »Jaguar, jump on me.» The jaguar jumped, but *Tawkxwax* said, »I am a humming bird» and he ran away leaving the jaguar alone.

31. Tawkxwax's Skill in Fishing (Pedro)

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Tawkxwax was married to a Matako woman. He invited his father-in-law to go fishing ~~with him~~. On the river bank he ordered his father-in-law to light a big fire while he went swimming. He dove into the water and hour later he emerged with *surubi*, *bagre*, *amarillo*, *pacu* and an *asak* fish. They ate all they could. The father-in-law was to carry home the remaining fish but they were so numerous he was obliged to leave many behind. That night *Tawkxwax* beat a drum to call the people. He distributed the fish among them and taught them the art of curing disease. The second day *Tawkxwax* and the people went to fish again. He had big nets made with very strong wooden frames. The men entered the river in a line with the nets in their hands. *Tawkxwax* went downstream and drove the fish up to the nets where they were caught. They were successful in catching fish three times, but when they tried the fourth time the frames of the net broke and the fish escaped. *Tawkxwax* knew that this was going to happen and had warned the men, but they did not heed his warning to use stronger nets and unbreakable frames. Despite their carelessness many fish were taken.

32. The Wars of Tawkxwax (Pedro)

Tawkxwax attacked a fort. His only weapon was a stick with a red flag. Near the fort he waved his flag and the soldiers shot at him. *Tawkxwax* fell dead but in a little while he came to life again. The soldiers shot at him again but the bullets broke like clay pellets. *Tawkxwax* then went nearer the fort and the soldiers shot at him again and again, but the bullets would not leave the barrels of their guns. The Trickster killed all the soldiers and took everything in the blockhouse.

33. Tawkxwax's Fight with the Armadillo (Martin)

Tawkxwax decided to make war against the *axwenatáx*[1]. 539x
Before leaving for battle *Tawkxwax* had his people make 773x
weapons of *yuchan* wood. They made many clubs. The armadillo made only one club, but his was of *mistol* (*Zizyphus mistol*), a very hard wood. Before they started to fight they shook hands and *Tawkxwax* said to the armadillo, »If you succed in killing me, put my bones into a *yuchan.*» They fought. *Tawkxwax* struck the armadillo with a *yuchan* club, but it did not hurt him. Each time he struck the armadillo with a club it was broken to bits. The armadillo knocked *Tawkxwax* down with his *mistol* club and killed him. He then left his body for the bees to eat. *Tawkxwax* was dead for many days. One day a fox happened to pass by and saw *Tawkxwax's* bones lying on the ground. He asked the bones what had happened. The fox collected the bones and said, »Get up, *Tawkxwax*» and *Tawkxwax* arose and was restored.

34. Tawkxwax and the Iguana (Pedro)

Tawkxwax found it very convenient to spend the winter underground as does the iguana. He asked the iguana to stay with him. The iguana agreed but only on the condition that *Tawkxwax* should not leave the den to relieve himself. *Tawkxwax* promised, but after a while he could restrain himself no longer and he went out and came back. He did this many times. The iguana noticed that *Tawkxwax* left many foot prints in the earth and as he was afraid some one might discover their hole he ordered *Tawkxwax* to leave. *Tawkxwax* left. Three months later he returned to look for the iguana, but he could not find the entrance to the den as it was closed by a *caraguatá* (*Bromelia*) plant.

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[1] In Spanish *gualacate*, kind of armadillo.

D. ADVENTURES OF THE TRICKSTER

35. Tawkxwax and the Needle (Martin)

x539 x773 *Tawkxwax* owned many things. One day he set out to visit a village. When he arrived he found only empty houses. The village was deserted. He walked to a house and there he saw a needle lying on the ground. He asked, »Where are the people?» The needle did not answer. He ordered him to speak but the needle remained silent. *Tawkxwax* got angry and said, »I will step on you and you shall be broken.» He repeated his question once again but still the needle remained silent so *Tawkxwax* stepped on the needle, but the needle stood up and ran into his foot. *Tawkxwax* fell to the ground in great pain, he thought »Why has the needle poked me?» He did not know what to do with that needle in the sole of his foot. He said to himself, »I wish a string would fall beside me.» In answer to his wish a string fell on the ground near him. He passed the string through the eye of the needle and in this way managed to remove it. As soon as the pain stopped he went away.

36. - Tawkxwax and the Excrement (Martin)

Tawkxwax found an empty hut. The owner of the hut was not there and all he saw was a heap of excrement on the ground. He asked the excrement where the owner of the house was. The excrement answered by moving and moving. He did not understand the excrement so he said, »You shall speak so that I can understand you, if not I will strike you.» The excrement paid no attention to him so *Tawkxwax* struck it with a club. The excrement jumped up and stuck to his face blinding him. He did not know what to do. He heard some frogs croaking and thinking there was a pool of water where the frogs were, he dove into it, but as he could not see that the pool was dry, he fell on the hard ground, scratching his face and hurting himself badly. He

started to walk and at last came to a river where he bathed. 539x
He recovered his sight and his face was again in good condition. 773x

37. Tawkxwax and the Mortar (Martin)

Tawkxwax found an old mortar. He said to it, »Where are your owners?» The mortar started to sound »tom, tom tom». The mortar was split. *Tawkxwax* sat on it and his testicles slipped into the rent. The mortar shut and pinched them. *Tawkxwax* could not walk, he said, »What am I going to do? If I had an axe here I could break the mortar.» An axe fell beside him and *Tawkxwax* split the mortar. In the place of his lost testicles he put the fruit of the *caraguatá* (*kyutsáx*). (*Bromelia*).

38. Tawkxwax and the Blancoflor Bird (Pedro)

Tawkxwax admired the feathers of the *blancoflor* (*LeLtáx*) and asked him how they came to be so white. The bird told him that he first collected branches and straw and then set fire to them. He sat in the middle of the flames and when he came out he was entirely white. *Tawkxwax* also wanted to be white so he gathered fuel and lighted a fire, then stood exactly in the center of it. The fire was very hot and so he told the bird that he was burning, but the bird told him to stand the pain and cheer up as only in this way would he become white. *Tawkxwax* stood the flames as long as he could but finally they became too hot and he jumped out and ran away. He saved himself, but his skin was badly burned.

39. Tawkxwax and the Stork (Pedro)

Tawkxwax met a stork (*tsiyá*, probably *Ardea galatea*). He was standing on one leg as is his custom. The other leg was tucked under his feathers. *Tawkxwax* became very interested and asked the stork how it was possible to do this;

*539 *773 he added that he would like to do the same. The stork said the only thing to do was to cut off one leg. *Tawkxwax* asked how the leg could be put back again and the stork replied that there was nothing ~~more simple~~, he said, »You have only to jump on a certain kind of wood and you will recover your leg.» *Tawkxwax* asked the stork for a demonstration so the stork hopped to a certain branch and lowered his leg. *Tawkxwax* asked the stork to cut his leg off. After his leg had been removed *Tawkxwax* jumped on a branch as the stork had done but his leg did not grow back. *Tawkxwax* called the tarantula *siwanoLokwetax* and told him that he would give his daughter in marriage to have his leg replaced. *Tawkxwax's* daughter was a beauty and as the spider desired her he put *Tawkxwax's* leg back on, but *Tawkxwax* refused to keep his promise. *Tawkxwax* then climbed a tree, he fell and broke his leg. He asked the tarantula again to mend his leg but the spider refused. *Tawkxwax* would have remained with one leg had it not been for a smaller spider who put his leg back on for him.

40. Tawkxwax and the Stork (second version) (Martin)

When *Tawkxwax* was out walking one day he met a bird standing on one leg. The other one was tucked up under his feathers. *Tawkxwax* said, »Friend, what a beautiful leg you have. I would like to have one leg cut off and stand on the other as you do.» The bird cut *Tawkxwax* leg off and gave it to him to carry away. When *Tawkxwax* was some distance away the bird shouted, »Look, I have two legs and not one.» *Tawkxwax* said, »You, I have two legs and not one.» *Tawkxwax* said, »You have fooled me, why have you been so mean to me?» *Tawkxwax* then went on his way, but he got tired and his leg ached. He thought, »What shall I do now with only one leg.» He saw a spider and he asked her to come down and stick his leg back on with her web. The spider did as *Tawkxwax* wished and he set out again on two feet.

41. Tawkxwax and the Wild Bee (Martin)

Tawkxwax was walking along the bank of a river. He spent 339^{x} the night on a certain spot near the river. The next day he 773^{x} was very hungry. He resumed his journey and at noon came to a house. The house was surrounded by many pots filled with water. He spoke to the old woman who owned the house. He said, »Grandmother, I am thirsty.» The old woman said, »I have water in these jars.» She let him drink as much as he pleased. As *Tawkxwax* was about to drink he made the water very warm and he said to the old woman, »The water is warm, please go down to the river and bring me some fresh water.» The woman who was nursing her granddaughter said, »With whom shall I leave this child?» *Tawkxwax* said, »Put her in the hammock.» *Tawkxwax* said to himself, »The water shall not flow into the jar until after I have eaten the child.» The old woman went down to fill her jar but the water would not come in. She tried again and again and the jar would not fill. *Tawkxwax* took the child and put a stone in her place. He roasted and ate her and when he had finished his meal he said, »The water shall fill the jar.» After the jar had filled the woman returned to her house. She saw the stone and became very angry and wept. This old woman was a wild bee (*nakwǫ̂*) (*moromoro* in Spanish). She gathered wax and she cast a spell on *Tawkxwax*: »May *Tawkxwax* sleep where he is, may his sleep be very deep.» Then she went in search of him. She found him sleeping under a tree, he snored and slept soundly. »Now I shall fool him» said the old woman. She closed all the openings of *Tawkxwax's* body with wax and smeared wax all over his fingers, his ears, and his bottom. The old woman returned to her house very satisfied with the trick she had played on *Tawkxwax* who swelled up. He called all the birds. They hastened to come and they held a big meeting. They had come to take away the wax, but they could not remove it because they all twisted their beaks. They were quite at a loss and did not know what to

X539 173 do. There was a little woodpecker whose name was *tenini* and he succeeded in removing the wax. When he chipped off the wax, the blood of *Tawkxwax* spurted on the birds who were stained with beautiful ~~red~~ colors. Only the crow (*siwók*) received the dirt which blew out from *Tawkxwax's* bottom; in that way he got his dirty color.

42. Tawkxwax and the Mud Wasp (Pedro)

Nákwo is a kind of mud wasp which makes his nest with earth. Formerly this mud wasp was a man. When he had gone hunting and left his children at home, *Tawkxwax*, the trickster, happened to pass by and he ate all *Nákwo's* children with the exception of one who managed to escape. When *Nákwo* came back he asked the boy: »Where are your brothers? Who ate them?» The child said, »I know, it was *Tawkxwax.*»

Nákwo followed the trail of the Trickster and finally arrived at the place where he was lying asleep near a pool. *Nákwo* took some clay and stopped *Tawkxwax* mouth, nose, eyes and penis. He also smeared his fingers with mud. The *pitoi* bird (*witsʔãhót*), who was then a man went fishing in the nearby pool. He saw *Tawkxwax* whose stomach had swollen up. The bird went immediately in search of other birds who had become men too. They all came with axes, but when they tried to cut off the mud, their axes broke off. A big bird (*-potsax*) (long-legged wading bird, which eats crabs, in Spanish *aguara*) whose beak is very large tried in his turn, but his axe was not strong enough and broke off. The birds did not know what to do for they no longer had any axes. Then came a very old little bird (with red head and a body of the same color as the owl's) who was armed with a tiny axe, but a solid one. Just as he was opening the anus of *Tawkxwax* all the accumulated excrement spouted on him and covered him with filth. Since that time this bird is very bad looking and his wings are gray.

43. Tawkxwax and the Jaguar

The jaguar who had no more fire decided to kill *Tawkxwax* 773x
who had stolen it. He set out in pursuit of *Tawkxwax* who 539x
did not know how to escape the wrath of the dangerous animal. He wanted to fly but he had no feathers. He asked the *potsáx* birds to lend him some feathers. Whenever he met a bird of this species he begged for a feather. Each *potsáx* pulled out one feather and gave it to him. *Tawkxwax* smeared his body with wax in order to stick the feathers on. Thus he managed to fly through the air, escaping the jaguar who stayed on the ground. Now *Tawkxwax* did not know how to fly and he was very awkward. His clumsiness aroused the suspicions of the jaguar who recognized him. He followed him blowing as hard as he could in order to melt the wax on *Tawkxwax's* body. The wax melted and the feathers on *Tawkxwax's* arms loosened and fell off. *Tawkxwax* could not remain in the air without feathers so he fell to earth. On touching the ground he became a man again and went to conceal himself in a hole. As the jaguar could not reach him in his hole he removed a piece of his skin and covered the entrance of the hole where *Tawkxwax* was hiding. *Tawkxwax* became hungry and thirsty but he dared not leave his den for food, for he could see the jaguar at the entrance. After many days without food and water he became very thin and decided he would have to leave. Upon emerging from the den he found that the jaguar had been gone a long time leaving only a piece of his skin at the entrance. *Tawkxwax* was very angry. He then went in search for food.

44. Tawkxwax and the Ostrich

The ostrich (*wanLǫ́x*) (*Rhea americana*) had gone hunting and left his sons at home. At that time the ostrich was a man. The ostrich's children were seated around the fire. *Tawkxwax* came and drove all but one child into the fire. When the ostrich returned and found his children dead, he

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asked the remaining child who had killed his brothers and the child said, »I know him, it is *Tawkxwax.»* The ostrich followed *Tawkxwax's* tracks and found him in his field. He threw himself at *Tawkxwax* who fled. The ostrich kept at *Tawkxwax's* heels tearing his buttocks with his beak. *Tawkxwax's* wounds were bleeding. He went down a hole into the earth where the ostrich could not follow. The ostrich said, »Come my friend, let us play.» »Not I, *Tawkxwax* answered, you nearly killed me.» The ostrich replied, »But you, you killed my children.» The ostrich stayed near the opening of the hole until he was tired, then he pulled out some of his tail feathers and stuck them near the opening. *Tawkxwax* saw the feathers and believing the ostrich was still there would not leave the hole. He remained underground for a long time and got very thin. Finally he could stand it no longer and crawled to the opening only to find that the ostrich had gone leaving some feathers in his place. *Tawkxwax* was very sick from going without food and water. He could only drag himself on all fours. He found a little fish and as he was dying of hunger ate it, but the fish did not remain in his stomach, it went out through his intestines. He drank some water but it did not remain in his stomach either. *Tawkxwax* then shut his anus with mud in order to retain food and water. He was at last able to eat and he grew fat again.

45. Tawkxwax and the Armadillo's Children (Martin)

While walking along the bank of a river *Tawkxwax* saw some children swimming. He decided to go swimming with them and after going into the water three times he said, »Let us make a big fire to warm ourselves by.» *Tawkxwax* made a snare with lianas and put the nooses around the fire. He managed to have the playing children put their heads through the nooses. They came to the fire for a second time to warm themselves and play. As soon as their heads were in the nooses *Tawkxwax* pulled the lianas and tightened the loops 173x around the necks of the children. He removed one of the 539x children, roasted and ate him. When he finished his dinner he said, »What a wonderful meal, I want some more.» The children were the sons of the armadillo (*axwenatáx,* in Spanish *gualacate,* species of armadillo). The *armadillos* had two caves, one under the ground and the second in the »other world». The children lived in the first. *Tawkxwax* dug into the second cave and fell into the »other world». In falling he shouted, »Is there no root here to save me?» At that moment a root shot up under him and *Tawkxwax* did not fall, he remained hanging on the root above the precipice. He could not climb up or down. He thought that a bird could come and get him and a bird did come. The bird said, »What are you doing here, *Tawkxwax?* »I am hanging here and I want you to save me.» The bird said, »Get on my shoulders, but close your eyes.» The bird brought him back to this world, but instead of leaving him on the ground he took him high into the sky and then dropped him. In falling *Tawkxwax* shouted, »May I change into a mortar?» When he touched the ground he was a mortar. He stood up and again became a man.

46. Tawkxwax and the Iguana's Daughter (Pedro)

Tawkxwax had a daughter who was very pretty. One day as he was out walking with her he met the iguana and his daughter. *Tawkxwax* became very interested in the iguana's daughter and asked the iguana if he could sleep with her in exchange for his own daughter. The iguana agreed. He started to copulate with *Tawkxwax's* daughter and she began to cry and complained that he had two penises. The iguana calmed her and went on. After they had finished copulating *Tawkxwax's* daughter was badly torn. In the meantime *Tawkxwax* had slept with the iguana's daughter without harming her. When they met again *Tawkxwax* x773 x539 mentioned to the iguana that his daughter was in much pain from being hurt by him. The iguana said that it was *Tawkxwax's* fault as he was the one who had suggested the sleeping arrangement. *Tawkxwax~~'s~~* daughter went home very ill. She refused to live with her father and blamed him for her being injured. She said that the people were right for treating him as a fool.

47. Tawkxwax and the Birds (Martin)

The birds, who had changed into men, gathered to make a feast. Many women had come to join them and also to become their wives. They drank and they sang. Their songs were very beautiful and the women chose their men and married them. *Tawkxwax* was the only one who sang a dirty song and the two girls who were going to marry him ran away. *Tawkxwax* noticed he was alone, the girls had hidden themselves and his friends were with their women. It was because of his dirty song that he was alone. He went back to his village where the only woman left was his mother. He slept with her and she became pregnant. When her child was delivered she said, »Lift your child.» *Tawkxwax* was ashamed and he said, »Oh mother, do not say that, tell me to lift my little brother.»

The men who sang then are now the singing birds in our forests.

48. The Woodpecker and the Daughter of the Sun

The daughter of the sun was fond of the grubs and honey of the wood bees. She was white and pretty and wanted to marry the man who was able to bring her a large amount of the honey called *ales*, which is very difficult to dig out of the trees. The girl's father told her to go in search of the woodpecker (*siwŏk*) who was an expert in getting *alę́s* out of the trees. The girl set out for the forest where she heard the sound of an axe; she went toward the sound. She did not find the woodpecker, but instead found another bird, the 773X *čitáni*. She asked him for some alés and he started to dig but 539X he did not dig deep enough so the daughter of the sun left him. A little further on she again heard the sound of an axe and this time it was the woodpecker. She stepped on a dry branch which cracked and the woodpecker became afraid and climbed to the top of a tree. From there he asked her what she wanted. She told him that her father, the sun, had sent her to get some *ales* honey and to marry him. Although the girl was very pretty the woodpecker was afraid of her. She asked him for some water because she knew the woodpecker always carried a gourd filled with water. The woodpecker came part way down the tree but he became frightened and flew to the top again. Then she told him that he was wonderful and she wanted to marry him. He came down at last and the girl drank some water and told him she wished to have some honey. The woodpecker gave her much honey and went with her to her home. *Tawkxwax* was jealous of the woodpecker because he wanted the girl as his wife. He asked her if she was willing to live with him instead of with the woodpecker. She said that she did not like bad people. Each evening when the woodpecker returned to his home his wife deloused him very gently with a cactus thorn.

Once the woman, who was menstruating, stayed behind in the village. *Tawkxwax* met her while she was taking a bath. Upon seeing the Trickster the woman became afraid and fled, leaving her clothes on the ground. *Tawkxwax* took her skirt, put it on and changed his face in order to look like a woman. In that disguise he went to the house of the woodpecker. When the woodpecker returned home *Tawkxwax* started to delouse him as his wife did, but with every movement he pricked his head. The woodpecker became angry and suspicious. He called an ant and asked him to pass between *Tawkxwax* legs. »If you see a vulva it is allright, but if you see a penis then sting him.» The ant

773 539 did as he was told and when he saw a penis he stung *Tawkxwax*. He shouted, »Who is stinging me?» He lifted up his cloths and when the woodpecker saw his penis he thrashed him soundly. Then the woodpecker went in search of his wife. After a while he disappeared too and the sun became anxious as to his fate. The sun started to seek him. He followed his trail until his footprints disappeared in a pool. The sun threw his spear into the water and it immediately dried up. At the bottom were two *lagu* fish, one small and the other large. He managed to make the small one vomit but he could find nothing in its stomach. He did the same to the large fish and in its stomach was the woodpecker. The woodpecker came to life and he changed himself into a bird. The sun's daughter disappeared forever.

49. Tawkxwax and the Woodpecker — (second version) (Martin)

The sun had two daughters. He was eating water animals (*lewó*). These animals are like alligators. They have the power to make the wind blow and stir up a storm with lightning and thunder. They fly in the sky and make rain fall. These animals are the rainbows, for people say that the rainbows are living things.

One day the sun went out to gather honey. He returned with some ordinary honey which he gave to one of his daughters, but she was not satisfied with it as he had not brought home the kind of honey she liked. The old man said, »Go and see the woodpecker, (*siwők*) he is the man who eats the kind of honey you like.» The woman set out and at Embarcación she meet him and they were married. After a while she became pregnant. *Tawkxwax* happened to be there. He succeeded in making the woman ill so that she could not go with her husband to gather food. When *Tawkxwax* attempted to violate the woman she resisted him and ran away to her father. *Tawkxwax* who feared the woodpecker very much

changed himself into the wife. He had the same appearance 115x
and dressed the same. When the woodpecker returned home 539x
he gave everything he had gathered in the forest to his wife. He saw that *Tawkxwax* was not there. He became suspicious and noticed that his wife's attitude toward him was changed. His wife went out to urinate and he said to an ant, »Follow this woman and if you see testicles, sting her so that I shall know it is not my wife.» The ant saw testicles and he stung them. The woman came back scratching and rubbing herself. She said, »That wretched ant has stung my leg.» The woodpecker knew that this was not his wife and so he killed *Tawkxwax*.

The woodpecker got up and went to the house of his father-in-law in search of his wife. He found her there, but she had already had her child. Two days later the sun said to his son-in-law, »Go and get me some *lewó*, I like to eat the water animals.» The woodpecker went to a lake and there a water animal ate him. The girl said to her father, »Go and bring back my husband who is in the stomach of the water animal.» The sun went and found the fish that had swallowed his son-in-law. He ordered him to open his mouth and out flew the woodpecker.

50. Tawkxwax and the Dead Horse (Martin)

Passing a village, *Tawkxwax* found the bones of a horse. He gathered the bones together, took a piece of money and laid it with them. Then he said, »Horse, stand up.» The horse stood up and *Tawkxwax* said, »Now I have a horse, I will go on horseback.» He set out. It was night when he arrived at a house. The woman who owned the house had been very kind to him. The horse stood before the house and when it defecated it filled a hat with pieces of money. The owner of the house was very interested in the horse and wanted to buy it. »No, I have only one horse and it is useful to me», said *Tawkxwax*. The old woman finally succeeded

773 539 in buying the horse for a large sum. *Tawkxwax* wanted another horse on which to resume his journey so the old woman let him have a very good one. The people of the house took the horse and tied it where it would have plenty to eat. The next morning when a servant went to fetch the horse he found only bones. The woman said, »*Tawkxwax* has fooled us.» A troop of policemen went in pursuit of *Tawkxwax* and when they came up to him they asked, »Have you seen such and such a man with such and such a horse.» »Yes, very near», said *Tawkxwax*. They travelled a short distance and again met *Tawkxwax*. He deceived them thus seven times.

51. **Tawkxwax and the Flood (Martin)**

Tawkxwax walked and walked, but he could not find the people he was seeking. »What am I to do?» he said to himself. »I am so lonely.» He took out of himself a piece of soul and made a child from it and called it »son». Now he had someone to talk with. They set out on their way. That evening they stopped and *Tawkxwax* said, »Son, there our tribesmen are gathered, they are happy because they have plenty of fish.» They went out and met their friends. The chief said, »Here is the man who will play many bad tricks, he will harm us.» The people feared him because he was a fool and liked to play pranks on them. The people of the village were very fond of fish and they caught them in a great *yuchan*[1] with the interior hollowed. The whole sea was in the interior of this tree which was as large as a barrel. Each day they caught many fish in it, but they were all small ones. If a large fish had been caught it would have broken the tree. One day *Tawkxwax* approached the tree and he saw a *dorado* swim close by it. He said, »I will catch this beautiful fish and skin it.» The people said, »Don't touch the fish,» and they watched the man lest he harm the fish.

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[1] Bombaceae. See not 1, p. 18.

When they were off guard *Tawkxwax* struck the fish. As 713x soon as the fish felt the blow the tree broke. The tree was 539x broken and the sea began to flood the earth. A chief sank his stick into the ground and the sea stopped as if it were held back. The people were very angry with *Tawkxwax* and said to him, »You go down stream, the sea will follow your trail.» *Tawkxwax* set out and the sea followed his trail. The sea caught up with him and he was drowned: I the middle of the sea *Tawkxwax* changed himself into a calabash and floated. The sea was quiet. The people said, »What has happened to *Tawkxwax*?» They put their hands into the water and took out some of *Tawkxwax's* hair. They knew then that the man was dead.

52. The Flood and the Son of Tawkxwax

Tawkxwax had no wife, so he buried his penis in his arm and his arm became pregnant. He shook his arm vigorously and a baby boy fell out. As soon as the baby struck the ground he started to grow. After the child was born *Tawkxwax* went to look for a woman who could take care of him. He gave the baby to an old woman who cared for him and nursed the child. Whenever she asked the boy to tell her the name of his father he remained silent. One day the boy asked the woman to give him a piece of string for a bow. He cut some reeds and made arrows for fishing. He went fishing. In ancient times all the fish were gathered in the trunk of a big *yuchan* tree full of water. It was there that the child went fishing. He killed many fish and brought them to the village to distribute them among the people. The next day he went back to the *yuchan* and speared more fish. On returning to the village he saw that some neighbors had arrived and that his fish supply was not sufficient to feed them all. He returned to the *yuchan* and shot a beautiful yellow fish. As soon as the arrow struck the fish it broke the tree with its tail and the water spread over the

X773 X539 earth. There was a great flood. The child was afraid and he ran away, but the water followed him and he did not know how to stop it. He was so afraid that he climbed a tree, from the top of which he could see that the entire world was under water. At midnight the tree crashed and the boy was drowned. The water tore his hair off and his scalp drifted away. The child had followed a dry river bed in the vicinity of Las Lomitas. The father of the boy, *Tawkxwax*, walked along the bed of a river. When the old man became sleepy he stopped the water by sticking his spear into the ground. In the morning he took his spear out and the water ran on. In seeking his son he joined all the waters and put them together very far from here, in the neighborhood of Buenos Aires. While he was gathering the waters together he noticed a small river. He wanted to stop the water so he put his hand into it. He felt something in his hand and when he looked he saw that it was the hair of his son. In this way he knew of his son's death. *Tawkxwax* dived into the water and never came back. He is the master of the fish.

In another version the flood is related in this way: One day *Tawkxwax's* son went fishing for the women of the village who were pulling out *caraguatá* (*Bromelia*). As there were many women the first catch was not sufficient and *Tawkxwax's* son went back to the tree to catch more fish. He killed the big yellow fish *atsa*. The water followed him everywhere and since that time it has spread over all the world.

53. The Culture Hero Carancho and the Monsters

Once upon a time there was a tree, the top of which was a fork. This tree could bend over and strangle the people who stood at its base. The *carancho* (*ahuʔtsáx*) who had eyes in the back of his head as well as in the front, saw the tree bending down to seize him by the neck. He jumped aside and struck it with a stick. Blood spurted from the tree and it died.

Čaʔačute was a man-like spirit. He liked to steal women. 773x
One day he kidnapped Carancho's wife. The vulture went
to fetch her. The spirit had a young jaguar which watched 539x
the entrance to his hut and ate anyone who dared to come near. Carancho shot the jaguar and killed it, but *Čaʔačute* still had a big bird *axwéntax*[1] who ate men just as the jaguar did. *Čaʔačute* thought the bird would eat the Carancho, but the vulture killed it with the spurs on his feet.

There was also a monster (*kaxtéx*) with a big stomach and a tremendous mouth who swallowed everyone he met. Carancho went to dig some honey from a tree with an axe. *Kaxtéx* came and asked him for some honey but instead of giving him honey the Carancho sharpened a piece of *palo-santo* at both ends and threw it into the mouth of the monster. The stick went into his stomach and killed him.

The vulture also killed another monster (*kalačináx*) whose leg was a blade made of iron. He would kill anyone within his reach with a sweep of his leg which he used like a scythe.

E. SPIRITS

54. The Welán

The *welán* are like fire by night and when they go out 539
they stir up the winds. Sometimes they appear as white 773
men with mausers, carabines or Winchester guns. They are 776
very fond of fresh meat and eat everything they find, cats, dogs and so on. Their strength is very great and they furnish strength to the men they enter. The persons possessed by a *welán* become furious and so strong that they can break a lasso. The *welán* very often steal children and carry them away under the earth. The man who is dealing with a *welán* knows all the roads and pools and is never lost.

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[1] Big bird with a tuft of feathers on its head.

X539 He can be near the Pilcomayo[1] or in the bush without losing
X773 his way.

To meet a *welán* means death. Only the medicine-men
776 are allowed to speak to them without danger. If a person
[756] is stolen by a *welán* he will become a medicine-man for he understands the ways and the language of the *welán*. The *welán* appear only at night. In order to ask them questions it is necessary to apply to a medicine-man who knows their language. The medicine-man enters a *yuchan* tree, the *welán* blows on him and the medicine-man in turn blows upon the people. By night the *welán* come to visit the medicine-men.

When a *welán* takes a person away that person can no longer speak and does not wish to remain at home any longer. He must be sung over for a month, at the end of which time he becomes a medicine-man.

55. Origin of Disease

X539 A man was caught by a *welán* who made him a chief
X773 *welán*. The man who had become a *welán* changed his mother
into one also. One day a man died and the people charged
753 the *welán*-man with his death. They invited the *welán* to visit them under the pretence of presenting him with a sheep. The man accepted the invitation but before going he told his mother he would probably not return again. He went to the others who were glad to have him accept their invitation. They gave him a sheep, asking him to eat it immediately, but the *welán* refused and said that he would like to eat it upon reaching his home. So he went taking the animal with him. The men who had planned to kill him ran ahead and hid themselves on the path he was following. When they heard the bleating of the sheep they shot at him and the *welán*-man was mortally wounded. Feeling how deep the point of the arrow had penetrated he

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[1] The big swamps formed by the Pilcomayo are real labyrinths in which one may become lost.

told his murderers that they had killed him, but that he 539x
would revenge himself by killing them too. He took some 773x
of the blood which ran from his wound and threw it at
them. The blood changed into disease and from that day 753
on men have been killed by disease. Before that time disease did not exist. (XIII).

56. The Welán-Woman (Pedro)[1]

A woman was heard crying one night and when the men 539x
asked her what the trouble was she said that they had killed 773x
her son and that she was going to eat their sons. At midnight she left her house and caught and ate a child. She did this many times. When the parents of the children kept awake to protect them the *welán*-woman made herself invisible. Finally they could stand it no longer and decided to kill the woman. They killed her but because she was a *welán* she came to life again and went right on killing and eating children. The men realized she could not be killed permanently so they decided to look for another shelter. They hollowed out a *yuchan* and entered it but it was very hot and they were obliged to leave. They slept in the open and the woman ate many children. From there the *welán*-woman proceeded to another village, Pozo del Tigre, and started eating children there. The men of Pozo del Tigre proved more astute. They killed the *welán*-woman and then they started a big fire and burned her. When she was in the fire the embers cracked up and jumped in all directions. Those which fell in the forest changed into jaguars 825
domestic cats, pumas, tapirs and snakes. Those which fell into the water became rayfish, *surubi*, *piranya*, *bagres*, *pacu* and other water animals.

57. The Spirits (Pedro)

The spirits, that haunt the imagination of the Matako, are 539x 773x
called *hoʔnat-Lele* (dwellers of the ground) or *honatsi-Lele* 776

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[1] This tale is the sequel of the preceding.

X 539 (inhabitants of the night). In Pedro's pronunciation the X773 word for ghost was *na-Lele*.

776 When a spirit enters a body the person must sing, otherwise [753] the spirit will never leave his victim, he will make him feel hot and cold alternately. All medicine-men have experienced these changes and the white men call malaria the disease caused by the presence of a spirit in a person's body.

Near Las Lomitas there is a dog spirit. His hair is like the hair of a sheep, his eyes like those of an owl only very sunken. He is as tall as a calf. He sometimes comes by night to the bush near Las Lomitas and catches women whom he makes sick. It is difficult to see him because when he has no intention to do harm he runs away when people approach him, as do the *ho·ʔnat-Lele*.

There exists a species of spirits called *ihiǫ̃L* which look like owls. One by the name of *Tapitax* invented pottery. Sometimes pots are found which belong to him. They are large and are buried in the earth up to the brim.

The *ho·ʔnat-Lele* are bad spirits. They have the appearance of men, only they are lean and dark. They live in *yuchan* trees and roam about during the summer months, in winter they go underground. They make their presence known by singing and whistling. They make mead from honey and *algarroba* husks. They pile together the fibers of the husks.

58. The Man among the Spirits (Pedro)

X 539 A man was caught by the *ho·ʔnat-Lele*. He remained with X773 them for more than a year. When he returned he found himself in the middle of fields. He married a woman-spirit and lived the life of the spirits. Once he went with his wife to fetch honey out of a tree, which according to his wife, was full of it. It was midnight and as the man could not see, his wife pulled his eyelashes out and gave him hers so that he could see in the darkness. To dig out the honey the woman-spirit used an iron implement like a cutlass. She stuck it into the tree, which immediately opened and let the honey flow out. When the honey stopped flowing she removed the iron and the wood closed without leaving a scar. The *hoʔnat-Lele* sleep during the day and work at night. They have their sexual intercourse during the day. The man could not get accustomed to the life they led because he was unable to sleep during the day. The houses of the spirits-of-the-earth are like long corridors. 539x 773x [776]

59. The Man and the Woman Spirit (Pedro)

While walking in a forest one day a man met a woman who told him her husband was out hunting. She asked him to sleep with her. They slept together and the woman told the man that he must go as her husband would return soon, but that he must visit her again. The man left, but on his way he felt excited again and his penis became erect. He ran back to the woman's house and slept with her once more. When they were through she told him that he must hurry for her husband was now quite near. She promised to send him his son in two days. The man ran away as fast as he could but he heard a storm coming up and realized that it was the woman's husband chasing him. The man hid in a hole which he covered with *čaraguatá* (Bromelia) leaves. The storm passed by without seeing him. The man set out again on his journey. Early in the morning of the following day the woman's son was delivered. At noon the child was grown up. His mother told him where his father lived and asked him to go there but to come back in four or five days. The child obeyed. When he got back to his mother he heard that his father had taken sick after his departure. No one had told him but he knew nevertheless. He returned to his father and cured him. When his father was well again they went to the forest to get some honey. Because he was the son of a man and a spirit the child always knew just where to find honey. The spirits hear the buzzing of the bees produced by their x539 x773 small spinning tops. They found plenty of honey. The child then returned to his mother's house. The father became ill again and the medicine-man who attended him was very ignorant so the man died. The son heard of it and returned to his father's village to punish the people who let his father die. He started an epidemic of smallpox which killed everybody except his father's family. One man from the village took refuge in another village, but he died anyway, although the people who had received him were not harmed. The son did not kill all the Matako, he destroyed only the men who had not taken good care of his father. The woman, her husband and the child were spirits.

60. The Wood-spirit (Pedro)

x539 x773 776 *Čaʔačute*[1] is a bush-spirit in human form. *Čaʔačute's* father was old and ill. The cause of his sickness was the dirty and worn condition of the jaguar skin on which he slept. A new skin was needed to make him well again. *Čaʔačute* went to hunt a jaguar. He asked people he met on the road to show him the jaguar's tracks, which they did. When he arrived at the path followed by the jaguar he lay down as if he was dead. The jaguar came and thought he was really dead. He dragged him into the forest and nudged him to see if he would move, but *Čaʔačute* remained very still. The jaguar pulled the tongue of *Čaʔačute* out in order to determine whether or not he was dealing with a corpse, but he did not give any sign of life. Then *Čaʔačute* took up a club of *matako* wood, like those used by the Chulupi Indians, and struck the jaguar a terrible blow on the head, killing him. The jaguar was then skinned and *Čaʔačute* returned to his father and presented him with the skin. His father's health was immediately restored. As soon as the skin became dirty *Čaʔačute's* father was stricken with illness and not until the skin was replaced did he recover.

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[1] About *Čaʔačute* see p. 41.

Čaʔačute was a tall and stout man. He never got tired 538x
and could carry a jaguar on his shoulders with ease. He 773x
was valiant and would attack single handed the villages of
his enemies. His method was as follows: He would walk 776
to the center of the village and go straight to the chief's hut. He would then ask the chief for a whetstone. On this he would sharpen his spear and then kill the chief without harming the rest of the villagers.

Whenever an Indian married, *Čaʔačute* would kidnap his wife. His house was full of stolen women. One day he took his brother's wife. The offended man went to *Čaʔačute's* house to get her but *Čaʔačute* would not give her up. The brother left and *Čaʔačute* followed him as he was going to kill him. The brother hid himself in the bush beside the trail and as *Čaʔačute* passed he shot an arrow into his armpit. *Čaʔačute* died and all the men, thoroughly pleased, went to get the women *Čaʔačute* had stolen.

61. Ḳatáu, the Spirit of Smallpox

Two parties of young men went in different directions in 539x
search of honey for mead (Spanish *jalapa*). The first party 773x
went so far from the village that they were obliged to camp in the forest. They suddenly heard roars of a man who was a good two miles away. After a short time they again heard the roars and groans. They were repeated over and over again. The men realized it was *Ḳatáu*. He is an *ãhat*, [776]
a spirit, tall and stout who can go through the jungle as quickly as if he were following a beaten path. He has a roar like a bull. As soon as the men heard the roar they put their fire out. *Ḳatáu* sensed the presence of someone so he passed very silently. When he was far from the camp of the men he roared. The men heard his roars again and again until they gradually became lost in the night. Upon returning to the village they learned that the other party had also heard the roars of *Ḳatáu*. The men made mead (an intoxicant) from honey and they sang and danced very

x773 x539 much. The medicine-men said that the roars of *Ḳatáu* meant that an epidemic would come. Shortly afterward it broke out and many people died.

62. Ḳatáu and the Honey-hunter

Two young men went out together to get honey. One of them returned with a bag full of honey but the other returned empty handed. Very much ashamed at his failure to get some honey the boy returned to the forest to search again. Passing by a tree he met a man, very stout and tall, whose hair was fastened by a headband made of palm leaves. The boy wanted to kill the stranger but the stranger said that if his life were spared he would help the boy look for honey. The boy agreed. *Ḳatáu* asked the boy if he wanted *lachiwana*, *rubiecita* or ordinary bee honey. *Ḳatáu* said he could not give him wood-honey as his bag was much too small. The boy was given so much honey that he had to throw some of it away because he could not carry it all. He went back to the village bent under his load, he made mead and invited the villagers to help him drink it. After many drinks he became drunk and told his friends that he had met the *Ḳatáu*.

63 .Asus, the Bat-spirit (Pedro)

A bat joined the people of his village to go to the fields and sow grain. Whenever the men who were sowing became thirsty the women would bring them water. *Ásus*, the bat, worked naked and when his wife went to give him some water she saw that he had a round tail. She was so afraid she forgot to give him the water and she ran away. The bat wanted to stop her but he couldn't. He became very angry and during the night he cut her head off. Since that time he has been cutting off the heads of women and piling them close to the hollow *yuchan*[1] where he lives. *Asus* was very cruel and the men of ancient times did not know where to flee. They tried to dig out the *yuchan*, but *Asus* cut off their heads and they are still enclosed in the *yuchan* where they are spirits. *Asus* hangs the heads of the women close to the hollow *yuchan* in which he lives. He never goes out during the day, only at night. Men must be very careful not to sleep in the open, otherwise the bat will cut their heads off. 113x 539x

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[1] See note 1, p. 18.

F. ORIGIN OF WOMEN, FIRE, MYTHICAL CHARACTERS

64. The Creation of Women (Martin)

The first men lived by themselves, they had no women. They had only a mother, a very old woman who had her house some distance from theirs. Every day the men went to hunt birds and deer. They ate the meat in the forest but saved the blood to give to their mother. The old woman said to herself, »What will these men do alone?» She made some small pots and put in them the blood her sons had given her. Her sons wondered why she was so secretive and never joined them, but every day they gave her more blood which she stored in her little pots.

During the night one year later the men heard children's voices coming from their mother's house. The men said, »How can this old woman make children». They watched and in the morning they saw five girls. The old woman had produced them from the blood of the deer which she placed in the pots she had made. The old woman is a falcon, called by us *tale*. 825

65. The First Women (Martin)

The first people were animals who could speak. They lived by themselves without women. They fished every day and their storehouses were filled with fish. One day they found that some one had stolen everything they had stored. They decided that the best thing to do was to leave a guard to

X539 keep watch. They left a parrot. The bird climbed a tree X773 and the others said, »When the thieves come, you must screech and we will run back.»

Shortly after the animals had left, the parrot heard voices coming from the sky. He looked up and saw women climbing down on a rope. They took everything they could eat. Then they slept under the tree in which the parrot was hiding. The bird instead of doing what he was told dropped small twigs on the women. At last the women awakened and said, »Who is in the tree, maybe they are ants, or perhaps it is a parrot.» They started to look and finally discovered the parrot hidden among the foliage. They picked up the seeds of a tree (*árbol del sapo*) and they threw them [825] at the parrot. One of the seeds struck the parrot on his tongue and from that time on the parrot has had a black tongue. It seems that while the parrot was on watch the iguana heard the noise made by the women and he warned his friends but they would not pay any attention to him as the iguana was believed to be deaf. The descent of the women took place while the iguana was eating, just after he had come back from the forest with firewood.

In the evening the other people came home. They said, »Where is the parrot?» The parrot was mute, all he could do was make gestures and point to the sky. They looked at his tongue and found it black.

The next morning the *aipés*[1] (or *akpés*) was left to guard the food. At first the women were afraid, then they caught him and pulled out his tongue which they replaced with a fruit seed of the *árbol del sapo.* The lizard remained mute like the parrot. At night when the people found him they were very surprised to find that he was speechless. They held a council to determine who should guard the camp that night. They chose a hawk[2] for a sentry. The women climbed down the rope as they had done before. The bird was sitting on a 539x tree stump. The women could not see him because he was 773x black and the stump on which he was sitting was also black. As they were stealing the fish the hawk screeched and the people hastened back to see who was there. The women threw seeds at the hawk but he protected himself with his wings. He cut the rope by which the woman had reached earth and they were unable to return to the sky. They were taken as wives by the men. One man lagged behind, he was the armadillo. He dug in a heap of refuse and there found a woman, but he scratched one of her eyes out with his nails. For this reason there are one-eyed women. The women ate with their vulvas and it is said that their vulvas [826] had teeth. The *caranchо*[1] — the culture hero — broke the teeth of their vulvas thereby making it possible for men to sleep with women.

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[1] Lizard very much like the *ututo* lizard. It lives on trees.

[2] A kind of black hawk. It eats serpents and rodents. The Matako call it *čalená*.

66. The First Women (second version) (Pedro)

Once upon a time men lived without women. The women lived by themselves and were savages. They came and plundered the crops raised by men. The men wanted to know who was responsible for the damage done to their crops. They asked a parrot to watch the crops for them. The parrot sat on the top of a tree and he saw the women coming down from the sky. Instead of calling the men he said nothing and as a joke threw a piece of wood at them. The women saw him and invited him down to play with them. He accepted and the women caught him and pulled his tongue out replacing it with a piece of coal.

A *gallinazo* (vultur, *Cathartes foetens*) was chosen to watch the fields next. He promised to inform them by whistling as soon as he saw the women. The vulture concealed himself among the leaves of a tree and when he saw the women he whistled. The men, who were hidden at a distance, ran

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[1] Falco Plancus.

X539 up to their fields and tried to catch the women. They buried
X773 themselves in the ground in an effort to escape, but the
armadillo said he would dig them out. He dug out one after another. The men took them. ~~The~~ same thing happened each time he pulled a woman out of the ground. In the end, angry because he could not keep a wife for himself, he put out the eye of a woman and made her so ugly that no one wanted her. From that time on men have had women.

X539 The wild women had toothed vulvas. A bird saw then
eating corn with their vulvas. He warned the people, but
X773 *Tawkxwax*, the Trickster, would not believe him and slept
826 with one of the women, who cut his penis. *Tawkxwax* took a bone and put it in place of his lost organ. He then went in pursuit of the woman and found her just as she was crouching to light a fire. He threw a stone between her legs and broke the teeth of her vagina. From that time on men have had sexual intercourse with women without being mutilated.

67. The Stealing of the Fire (Pedro)

X539 In olden times the jaguar was the sole owner of fire. He
X77. would give some of it away only if presents were given him
in return. The people would take fish to him and in ex-
372 change the jaguar gave them fire with which to cook. Once a rat with a flattened head, the *sičúm*, tried to steal some fire. He dug his way into the earth until he was underneath the hearth of the jaguar. The jaguar had been watching his fire and he saw the rat just as he was about to take an
[825] ember. He struck the rat on the head and that is why it is flat now. Another rat succeeded in stealing an ember. This rat has a black spot on his neck. He was lucky enough to get close to the fire without being seen. He picked up an ember and ran off holding it against his neck. He still has a burnt spot there, the mark of the fire. Using the inside of a cactus as tinder he lighted a big fire and then he distributed it. That is why all men have fire.

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

68. The Stealing of the Fire (second version) (Martin)

At the time when there were just animals, the jaguar 539^x
was the only one to have fire. He bad a big hearth. A 773^x
little rodent, the *wiyés*, passed by. Whenever the jaguar
turned his head the rabbit would put some embers aside. 372
The jaguar saw that he was touching the embers so he said, »Don't touch the fire, you will burn yourself.» The little animal pretended that he was cold and was shivering. He picked an ember up and put it under his chin. He said to the jaguar, »I go, I feel warm». He ran away and threw the ember into the middle of a meadow. All the world began to burn. The jaguar went to put the fire out, but he could not. In this way the people of the world got fire.

Now the jaguar had no fire. He decided to take it away 539^x
from man. He went to their village and sent a woman with 773^x
a jar full of water to put out the fire. The woman emptied the jar, but could not put out the fire. She and the jaguar
got their soles badly burnt. Hence the soles of a jaguar's [825]
paws are dark.

The jaguar went back to his den very ill. He remained there a long time in such condition. As no one came to bring him fish in exchange for fire and as he did not know how to hunt, he suffered greatly from hunger. He spent days and nights in his hut on an empty stomach and he was very miserable. One day a little tiger cat (*silak'ai*) called on him. This animal was an expert in hunting and he decided to teach the jaguar how to catch food. The tiger cat leaped on animals, killed them and brought his victims to the jaguar. The first victim of the tiger cat was an *aguara*, (*potsax*) a very large bird which eats crabs. The cat jumped on the *aguara* but was not able to kill him outright. The bird flew into the sky and it was not until they were 300 feet above the ground that the cat killed him. They dropped to earth but the cat was not injured. He took the bird to the jaguar. Within ten days the jaguar learned to hunt by himself. He killed

X539 animals and ate them raw because he had no fire to cook
X773 them with.

In ancient times the jaguar was a woman and the rodent who stole the fire from her was a man. Later they were changed into animals.

[372] The Trickster, *Tawkxwax* put fire into the *sunchu* wood and that is why we make our fire-drills with this wood[1].

69. Origin of the Mead (Pedro)

X539 In ancient times there was no mead. An old man tried
X773 to make it with some honey (*nesla*). He mixed the honey with water and left the mixture to ferment for one night.
273 The next day he tasted it and found it very good. The other people did not want to taste the drink as they thought it might be poison one. The old man said. »I will drink because I am very old and if I died it would not matter.» The old man drank much of the mixture and he fell down as if dead. That night he awoke and told the people that the beer was not a poison. The men carved a larger trough (*tsemLák*) and drank all the beer they made. It was a bird who carved the first drum, he beat it all night and at dawn he was changed into a man.

70. The Arrow Bridge (Martin)

X539 There was a very clever young man. He was good and
X773 never did anything wrong, but people did not like him. He went away and joined some people of the old times, men who had lived long, long ago and who were very intelligent. They took him away to a city in the middle of the sea. The old men thought that the boy would never be able to leave this place, but he made a bow and some arrows. He shot first arrow into the shore opposite, then he shot a second one into the butt of the first, and then a third into the butt of

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[1] The second and third part of this version has been narrated by my informant Pedro.

339X
773X

the second, and so on until he had a bridge of arrows from the land in which he was living to the land across the sea. He crossed on the arrows and took them away when he had landed on the other side. The people of ancient times could not understand how the boy had crossed.

These people had horses as big as houses. The boy rode a mule. There was a river there with a strong current and the only way to cross it was by a ford. The people thought that the boy would be drowned, but he was clever and did not cross until he came to the ford. This young man might have been *Tawkxwax.*

71. The Magic Pregnancy (Martin)

There was a deaf mute who cast a spell on the daughter of a spirit and made her pregnant. This fool was perhaps the Trickster, *Tawkxwax.* Everbody was jealous of the man who had made the daughter of the spirit pregnant because he was very rich. After the birth of the child the grandfather gathered all the men. Each one wanted the child to call him father so that he could marry the girl. But the child despised them all. The grandfather remembered that there was a deaf-mute in the village and so he sent his men to get him. As soon as the child saw the deaf-mute he ran toward him and kissed him so the men of the village knew that he was the father of the child.

72. The Magic Pregnancy (second version) (Pedro)

The *chuña*[1] was a man. He took some sperm and molded (XV *a*) it to look like salt, then put it on a path. A young woman going along the path saw this white stuff and thinking it was salt started to lick it. She became pregnant. Later on she gave birth to a boy. No one, not even the mother of the child, knew who the father was. In order to determine the father of the child, the girl's father made

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[1] Bird, *Chunga burmeisteri.*

X539 X773 a little bow with arrows and asked all the men of the country to present it to the child. The man from whom the child would accept the bow would be his father. More than a hundred men gathered to present the bow to the child but he would take it from no one. At last the *chuña* appeared and the child took the bow from him without hesitating. When the people of the village discovered that the *chuña* was the father of the child they got angry and wanted to kill him, but the *chuña* married the woman.

X539 X773 825 As soon as the child recognized his father, the people rushed toward the bird to kill him. He did not know how to defend himself, but his wife gave him a sling and with this he defeated his enemies. During the fight he threw a stone which struck the neck of the *potsax*. This bird was so badly hurt that the blood spurted out of the wound and after it dried the neck of the bird had turned black and it had remained so ever since. The *Lokotax* bird was struck by a stone which tore off his scalp and to this day he is bald. The yulo (*wutnax*) was struck in the eyes and now his eyes are circled by a red band. The *istiwintáx* bird was hit on the nose and his nose has remained swollen and red. The *tok* bird was wounded in the breast. The woodpecker was hurt on the head. Although the *chuña* was the victor of the battle a bird (*nęčę*), very like the *chuña*, succeeded in making his nose bleed and that is why the *chuña's* beak is red.

73. The Magic Pregnancy (third version) (Martin)

X539 X773 In ancient times there were many people and in one tribe there was a twenty year old woman who had never been with a man. One day her father and mother noticed she was pregnant. She had left the house to get some water and on her way had found something ressembling a small white ball. She picked it up and sucked it like a piece of sugar and from this she became pregnant. When the child was born it was not known who its father was. All the men wanted to marry the girl but she did not care for any

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773x

of them. The girl's father gathered all the men together and showed them the baby boy and said that the man the child pointed to was his father. Each man stood before the child but he recognized no one. Suddenly an old woman remembered that the *chuña* had not been in the gathering and so he was sent for and as soon as the child saw him he pointed him out as his father.

74. The Girl and the Viscacha (Martin)

Once upon a time there was a girl and each evening she went to a certain spot a short distance from her home where there was a rabbit burrow and she could hear the rabbits (Spanish *viscacha*)[1] making all sorts of noises. The woman said, »If a rabbit should come I would marry him.» A rabbit appeared. »You called me so I am here.» The girl said, »I love you, I will marry you.» They slept together. The following night the rabbit went in search of common honey and *lachiwana* honey. Before sunrise he returned with a load of honey and other food which he had found. The rabbit could not venture out during daylight as the light blinded him. The next night his wife wanted to go in search of food with him. He pulled out one of his eyelids and put it in the eye of his wife so that she could see in the dark. The woman was pleased and she remained to live with her husband. Since that time she has never worked in the daytime.

75. The Girl and the Big Armadillo[2] (Martin)

There was a very pretty girl loved by all the men but she would have nothing to do with any of them. The armadillo (*howanáx*) dug his way under ground and succeeded in entering the girl's house. Every night he went to her by this

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[1] My informant called viscacha a large rodent of the Chaco which I was unable to identify.

[2] This myth hardly intelligible is a fragmentary version of a long Chiriguano tale, derived from an old Tupi-guarani myth, already noted in the sixteenth century.

X539 X773 underground passage. Finally the girl became pregnant and her parents asked, »With whom have you been sleeping?» »With the armadillo», answered the girl. They were married and then the armadillo ~~sowed~~ his field. His plantation was a splendid one. At harvest time he had gourds, beans and all the best fruits but a fox began to damage them. Every day he returned and stole melons. The armadillo picked a big pumpkin and left only a few roots stuck in the ground. By this method he planned to trap the fox. He expected the fox to dig under the pumpkin and then the pumpkin would fall on him. The fox saw the trap and would not go near the pumpkin. The mother-in-law of the armadillo went into the garden and fell into the trap. She was crushed by the big pumpkin and her daughter could not help her for the pumpkin was too heavy. The armadillo came and lifted it with ease.

76. The Son of Atsa

While fishing a man caught an *atsa* fish. When he pulled the fish out of the water it said, »Give my heart to your wife.» The fisherman gave his wife the *atsa's* heart. That night his wife gave birth to a child. The neighbors heard the child crying during the night and the following morning they saw the child. They could not understand what had happened as the day before the woman had not been pregnant. Someone guessed it might have been the heart of the *atsa* fish. The following day the boy put on his spurs and left. He arrived at the Mission and asked the father where the monster lived. He tried to keep him from going to see the old female monster but the boy would not listen. When he arrived at the old woman's house she offered him a seat, then she spread around the house a powder which made the ground turn and the boy fell with the old woman into a hole. The old woman returned to the surface alone. The boy stayed in the hole with the other people she had captured. The boy's brother went to his sister-in-law and asked

what had happened to his brother. She told him and the 539x
boy decided to try to rescue him. He arrived at the old 773x
woman's house but sat down with great care. He grabbed hold of the old woman and started to beat her, asking for his brother. The brother was freed and he told about the other people being held captive. They beat the old woman until she set them all free. The people rescued the brothers appointed them *caciques* (XVII) and went home with them. Upon reaching home the elder brother's wife wanted to become the younger brother's wife as well, but he would not hear of it as he was afraid of his elder brother.

G. THE ANIMALS

All animals are still men, their souls are men and live as 539x
such with habits corresponding to those of the animals they 773x
represent. The Matako understand the language of the
yučandon (aquatic bird) which warns them whenever an 825
enemy has come to attack.

The *kiličuk* owl sleeps all day and gets up only at 8 o'clock in the evening. Then he goes to the river where he catches *wáhat* (*sabalo*). He is a very good fisherman and at midnight takes the first catch to his wife. She prepares a part of it to be eaten immediately and saves the rest for another meal. After giving his wife his first catch he returns to the pool and fishes until dawn, then he goes home to sleep.

The jaguar always talks with a medicine-man, assuring him that he is his friend. He has a soul the same as men. He calls the Matako *etekičaláx* (black heads) and says that their flesh tastes good.

77. The Ray

One day while passing a lagoon a man heard a noise under the water. He dove into the water and saw people building a big house. The ray (*poxwin*) was the master carpenter and taught him how to make such a house. The ray had many houses, bright and furnished with everything. He had a

539 store also with maté and many clothes. The Matako houses
773 are in the form of a ray because they learned from the ray
825 how to build them:

78. The Spider

In ancient times the spider was a woman who taught weaving to a Matako girl. When she knew how to weave, the Spider, who was still a woman, changed into an animal. The Matako learnt from the girl how to weave their ponchos and belts.

79. Why the Indians are Dark

A green frog (*hanatáx*) came out of the water to change its skin. It met an Indian and suggested that they exchange skins. The Indian was distrustful of the frog and would not accept his offer. Some other Indians came along and changed skins with the frog and they became white. Their skins were as white as the skin of a German and were so because they had trusted the frog. The first Indian and his friends were afraid to change their skins with the frog and so they have remained dark.

80. The Origin of the Otter

A boy went to take a bath in a river. He refused to get out of the water and go home. He was changed into an otter because he stayed in the water too long.

81. The Origin of the Ant-bear

An old woman was picking berries in the bush. She refused to go home and was changed into an ant-bear (*suláx*).

82. The Origin of the Jaguar

A man went fishing with his wife. He climbed a tree to catch parrots. He threw the parrots down to his wife who was on the ground. From the top of the tree he saw her eating the parrots he had thrown down. He said, »Why are you eating the parrots?» He climbed down the tree and went up to her but she broke his neck with her teeth. When she went back to her house her children rushed up to her to see what she was bringing home. She was carrying her husbands' head. The children said, »Why do you bring the head of our father?» She answered, »This is not the head of your father, it is an armadillo's head.» During the night she ate her children and then ran away, to the bush and did not come back. She changed herself into a jaguar. Jaguars are women.' 539^ 773X 825

83. The Eel

A man passed a lagoon and saw a dog coming out of the water. It was a female dog whose teats were full of milk. The animal was very bad and the man, who was afraid, ran away. The dog caught him and bit him. The man was changed into an eel (*iʔñá*).

84. The Origin of Wild Pigs

Some women went to gather *caraguatá* to make bags. In the evening they did not return. The following morning the men went out to search for them. They found only wild pigs *nitsáx* into which the women had been changed.

85. The Larva of the Pini Bee

Formerly the larva of the *pini* wasp was a man. He was stout and fat and his nose was dark.

86. The Palometa Fish[1] (Pedro)

Once upon a time the palometa fish (*nixwúk*) was a man and he had a cow and a donkey. One day he decided to find the source of all water. He killed his cow, dried the flesh and loading the donkey with the dried meat went in

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[1] Palometa, (*Serrosalmo piranha*). Voracious fish.

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search of the source of water. After a while he arrived at a swampy place where he and his donkey sank into the mud and died. The man was changed into a palometa fish.

87. The Woman and the Dogs (Pedro)

Formerly there was a woman who lived by herself and went hunting with her dog as a companion. One day the people of her village noticed that she was pregnant and as she was not married they wondered if she had taken her dog as a husband. She gave birth to a dog. After a while she had another baby dog and people knew that the dog was her husband. Instead of killing her dogs she suckled and raised them as though they were real children. After they were grown their mother took them to hunt and showed them which animals to catch. The dogs could not speak but they understood perfectly what their mother said. She told them to leave the spotted animal, the tiger, alone. They must not approach the peccaries, nor the majal, (the two species of Dicotyles) for they were very dangerous. They could kill deer but if they happened to meet a puma they were not to follow him to the trees, but wait for the hunters. She also told them that when they followed an armadillo they had better not bite his nose or he would curl himself into a ball. Neither were they to attack the *aguara guasu* (Canis Azarae) nor the tapir. Care was necessary when attacking an ant-eater and a certain kind of coati. With the tiger-cats they were to take the same precautions as those taken with the puma and not follow it. It they should meet with a fox, who was very much like themselves they might fight him but if after a little while they found him to be stronger, they must grab him by the throat. They could kill with impunity all kinds of armadillos, turtles and a variety of small fox. They were to be cautious regarding deer. Females could be attacked but the males with horns were very dangerous. They were to be careful with the iguanas as

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their bites were dangerous to dogs. Snakes should not be attacked.

One day the woman sent her children hunting. They killed a tapir. When they returned they were hungry so their mother skinned the tapir and fed them the meat, as she took good care of them.

As her sons were excellent hunters a man came to the woman and asked her if she would let them accompany him on a hunt. The woman was very fond of her children and as she knew hunting was dangerous, she sent her nephew along with them. The nephew was old and experienced. Time passed and the dogs did not return. Finally one of them appeared and when the woman asked him where his brother was he did not answer, saying only »is, is, is.» (»All right»).

He told his mother that the jaguar had killed his brother for the fun of it, he had not eaten him. Some men killed the jaguar and gave the woman its flesh which she ate. She made a *pimpim* (drum) and she sang for two years. After two years she had ceased thinking of her son, but she always accompanied her dogs on the hunt for fear they would be killed.

88. The Woman and the Dogs (second version)

Once there was a woman and a dog and they used to go hunting together. The woman became pregnant and the people said that the dog had made her so. The people were thinking, »She is pregnant and she is ~~not~~ married. Only the dog with whom she goes around could have made her pregnant.» She gave birth to a dog. The second one was a dog and so was the third. Then the people said that it was true that she had intercourse with the big dog. The woman always spoke to the dogs, but they could not answer. When she spoke to them they could understand her. They say that when the dogs wanted to speak they said, »is, is, is, is». That was the language of the dogs. Whenever the woman x539 x773 825 told them to come and drink water they would do so. If the woman said, »Go and lie in the shade», the dogs went to lie in the shade. If she said, »Come and have some water», they came and drank. Whenever the woman would say, »Go with so and so,» they went with him, but when the woman said, »Let us go hunting», if they did not want to go they just lay where they were. If she said, »Let us go hunting,» they stood up, but one always stayed at home. Only two went to hunt.

The woman did not kill them, she gave them her breast and they slept there. She stretched on the ground and the pups sucked. When they were full she got up.

People always asked her for dogs which could hunt. The woman said. »My sons, if you do not want to go send one of your brothers to go with this man. If you come across a dangerous animal do not go near him and take care to retreat a little. The wild pigs are bad. You will recognize the jaguars by their spots, they are very bad. If you see an armadillo, be prudent, if you bite his shell it will pinch your nose. Do not be afraid of ostriches they are safe. If you hunt a wild boar (Spanish *chancho majal*) you must know that it is dangerous. Do not go near it. When you are after a jaguar, do not climb the tree that it is on, wait for people, for they will follow you and will come soon. When the people arrive they will kill the jaguar, it will fall, it will die.»

The people came back after having killed a jaguar. They gave the skin to the woman. She said, »It is fine. With this skin I will make a litter for my children.» The people also brought meat to her whenever they went hunting with the dogs. They distributed the flesh to her in order that the dogs might eat abundantly.

One day another man came. He said, »Aunt, I came here in order to see if you would lend me your dogs so I might go and hunt.» That evening the people came back. The woman said, »It looks as if my sons had hunted animals, they are full.» »My sons, here is water if you want to drink, drink and then go to sleep.» 539x

Another man came and asked for the dogs. He took all three. That evening two dogs came back to their mother, one was missing. The mother said, »It looks as if something has happened to one of my sons, he did not come back with his brothers.» The people were arriving and one said to the mother, »The jaguar killed your son. The jaguar was in a thicket and it ran after the dog. The dog escaped but the bush was so high that he could not pass through and he was seized by the jaguar and killed.» People gathered before the woman's house and said, »Aunt, people are coming with the body of your son.» They buried the dog. The mother wept, »What a pity, I loved you so much.». The woman was always thinking of what had happened and she refused to give her other sons to anyone because the jaguar had eaten one. The mother would go with them to hunt and when they arrived at a place where there were no people she would give them advice. »When you pursue a dangerous animal don't bite it. The *coati* is bad, the ant-bear too. The fox is not so bad and the white armadillo and iguana are harmless. Take care of snakes, the *yarara*, of the coral, and the *kapitsil*. The rattlesnake is very dangerous. You must know a big fox with a black mouth. Take care of the tapirs; they will seize a dog by the neck and throw it to the ground. Be on your guard when you hunt a male deer, it has horns and can kill you. The male deer has a bad smell, but the female deer has no smell and that is good. If you run after little armadillo (*peludo* in Spanish) he will dig a hole in the ground. Wait until the people come and dig it out and kill it. Turtles are entirely harmless.» 773x 825

89. The Woman and the Bird[1] (Pedro)

When birds were still men, they lived without women. One day they gathered to sing so that the women could pick

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[1] See the tale *Tawkxwax* and the Birds., p. 34.

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539 as husbands the men who sang and beat drums the best.
773 The *letseniwólàx* sang first and did so well that two women
825 went to live with him. Each bird sang in turn and they sang
well that each got a woman and some of them, the *letseniwolax*
and the *aqytin*, got two. When it was the *suxñay* turn to
sing, the bird which sings so mournfully near graves, he sang
such a horrible song that a woman who was menstruating
filled her hand with blood and smeared on the bird's face.
He went to the river to wash his head, but could not remove
all the blood and he still has a bit of red around his beak.

90. The Pigeon and the Egret (Pedro)

The pigeon used to have a long beak like the egret. He lived close to the lagoons where he could get fish. One day the piegeon and the heron decided to go fishing together. The pigeon's horse was very fast while the heron's horse was slow. The pigeon made fun of his companion's horse so they decided to separate and see who could get to the lagoon first. The egret had been fishing for a long time when the pigeon arrived. The pigeon started fishing immediately and he was in such a hurry that he broke his beak on the first fish he caught. He did not know what to do. He went to the forest and repaired his beak with wild beans (*poroto del monte* in Spanish). Since that time he has not fished, but has lived in the forest eating fruits and insects.

91. The Humming-bird (Martin)

Once upon a time there were some people. A girl of these people married a young man from another village. The boy was very small and therefore the people would not be friendly with him, they hated and made fun of him and did not believe he was able to sow and fight like the others. The name of this little man was *Tuxlan* and he is said to have been a humming-bird.

Tuxtan and his wife lived in a little hut opposite the village. J 39x He had a dog and a tiny spear and one morning he said to 773x his wife »I will go to hunt tapir.» He went with his dog to a 825 lagoon where all the animals came to drink water. He saw a tapir, killed it and in the evening returned with it on his shoulders. The people saw him with the tapir and they took it away from him, not even leaving him a piece of meat. *Tuxtan* said, »What shall I do?» He went away from the village and cleared a field. He planted pumpkins, melons and all kinds of fruit. At harvest time he would gather his group and put it in a storehouse many miles from the village. In order to store his crop he would be absent from the village several days and when he returned he would bring just enough fruit for his wife. Some children playing in the village discovered near *Tuxtan's* house pumpkin and watermelon rinds. This they called to the attention of their parents. The villagers went in all directions to try and find his fields, they looked for six days and on the seventh they located his storehouse in the forest. They took everything in it, not even a seed was left. *Tuxtan* was again without food and he wondered what he was going to do.

He had a big family in his country and one day he took his spear and arrows and set out across the desert. He came to a lagoon. He remained there waiting for jaguars and ant-bears to come for water. When a jaguar came he killed it and he did the same with an ant-bear. In this way he killed five jaguars. With the skins of the jaguars and ant-bear he made himself some clothes.

He made many arrows and for each bunch of arrows he made a bow. One night he returned to his village to visit his wife. He found her asleep with another. He killed them both. The people knew where *Tuxtan* was living so they buried the woman and her lover and set out after *Tuxtan* to kill him. They found him near the lagoon but *Tuxtan* resisted them and killed all of them except for a chief and a few men. The chief said, »I will go and get more warriors.»

X 539 *Tuxian* answered, »I will go home, try to catch me.» The
x 773 chief gathered all the warriors he could and then went back
825 to attack *Tuxian*.. One morning he heard the sound of trumpets and knew the warriors ~~were coming~~. He said to his parents, »I have killed many people, you can escape with your goods, but I will stay here and rout these people, leave me alone.» His family ran away with the exception of his father and brother, they said, »If it is so, we will die with you.» The three destroyed the entire army leaving only the women (XVII).

92. The Chaja and the Charata (Pedro)

In olden times the *chaja* (crested screamer, Chauna torquata) and the *charata* (Ortales Canicollis) had different voices than those they have today. One day the *chaja* went to call on the *charata* and told him that his song was not fit for the forest and suggested that they exchange songs. The *charata* agreed and each went home with the song of the other. Since that time the songs of these birds have been different.

93. The Vulture and the Carancho (Pedro)

The vulture, *hato*, invited the *carancho* (hawk, Falco Rufus) to visit his fields. *Carancho* went with the the vulture but the *hato*'s fields were so hot that the *carancho* burnt himself and almost died. The *carancho* then invited the *hato* to look at his fields. The fields of the *carancho* were so cold that the *hato* barely escaped freezing to death.

94. The Deer and His Children (Pedro)

One day the deer went hunting, leaving his children at home. Before going he told them not to be afraid of the fire and not to run away if they should see it. He hunted for a long time and when he returned he brought some *guayacan* fruit to please his children, but he did not find them at home. They had not followed his advice and the fire had burned them.

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95. The Jaguar and His Children (Pedro)

One day the jaguar decided to find out whether his children were cowards. He howled: »whoo, hou, hou.» Some of his children became afraid and some did not. He ate those who were frightened and spared those who were not.

96. The Puma and the Deer (Pedro)

One day the puma felt like eating a deer, but he was afraid since he did not know whether the deer had teeth. He decided to make the deer laugh so he turned around and showed his bottom, but the deer did not laugh. Then the puma showed his penis and the deer began to laugh. The puma saw that the deer had no teeth and so pursued and killed him. He ate one half of the deer immediately and hid the rest.

97. The Fighting Fish (Pedro)

All the fish were angry with *set*, a little fish which swims very fast. The *waxnoLe* fish lay in ambush at the spot where the river falls into the lagoon and opened wide his mouth. He expected the *set* to go into his mouth but the *set*, who is a courageous fish, managed to dodge him and the river water filled the stomach of the *waxnoLe*, which is the reason for this fish having a swollen stomach.

The *surubi* (*aláx*) decided to attack the *wahát* (*sabalo*). The *surubi* warriors were more than two hundred strong and they were mounted on horses. They wore leather coats while they lay in ambush awaiting the *sabalo* who were coming down the river. The *sabalo* were not afraid because they were excellent swimmers. In fact the *sabalo* swam by so quickly that the *surubi* could not catch them and further-x539 more the *sabalo* struck the *surubi* on their heads and made them one-eyed.

x773 825 The *katukwetax* (yellow fish) and the *asak* fish, enraged by the misfortune of their friends, the *surubi* fish, decided to avenge them. Although the *atsa* had horses they could not kill the *sabalo*, who jumped from one side of the river to the other. *Sę̣t* and *sip* also tried to destroy the *sabalo* but even with their weapons, guns, swords, revolvers, they were as unsuccessful as the others.

The yiwis-fish (Spanish *vieja*) is the doctor of all the fish. If a fish is wounded *yiwis* sucks its wounds and sings like a medicine-man. In this way he manages to get the arrow point out of the wounded fish and the fish recovers. He cures all the fish just as the Matako medicine-men cure people.

One day some men heard a loud noise, like the trampling of a herd. One man went to investigate and he saw a score of donkeys loaded with ashes which were being taken to the *yiwis*. Ashes are the favorite food of this fish.

98. The Quarrel of the Fish (Pedro)

One day *WetyamLi*,[1] who was walking through the forest, heard two fish insulting each other. He went closer and saw the *tsonatáx* and the *ḳalę̣* quarreling. The *tsonatáx* told the *ḳalę̣* that he was ugly and the latter told the *tsonatáx* was even more ugly.

The *WetyamLi* again started walking and heard two other people fighting. This time it was the *kantax* who was telling the *xwolít* that he was bad looking and the former replied that the *xwolít* was still uglier.

Further on *WetyamLi* came upon two other people fighting, they were the *natsax* and the *silǫ̣t*. The *natsax* told the

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[1] I was unable to obtain any information about this character. The word *wetyamLi* means a «liar», a man who tells fish stories. It is possible that our *WetyamLi* is a sort of baron Munchhausen of the Matako folklore. See tale p. 74.

silǫt he was homely and the *silǫt* replied that the *natsax* was 539x
even uglier because of his big mouth. *Natsak* in turn said 773x
that although his mouth was big, he was not as ugly as the
silǫt whose mouth was too little. 825

Further on *WetyamLi* heard the *tsoktax* tell the *etékak* that he was very ugly because his head was flat and the *etékak* replied that he could not be as ugly as the *tsoktax* with his too big fins.

Still further on *WetyamLi* heard two more species of *palometa*[1] quarreling. The *niscutax* was calling the *timętes* very ugly because his nose was so long and the latter replied that even if his nose was long the eyes of the *niscútax* were too deeply set in their sockets and his mouth was always open, as if he could not shut it.

99. The War between the Donkeys and the Jaguars (Pedro)

In ancient times the donkey was a man and had a field. Once he sent his son to look at his field and when on the second day his son had not returned he began to wonder if the jaguar had eaten him. He went to the field and found the footprints of a jaguar who had carried his son off. He followed the trail of the jaguar, found him and punished him severely, for the donkey is stronger than the jaguar. The jaguar went home very ill from the kicks he had received. He decided to avenge himself so he organized an army to fight the donkey. In the army were all kinds of animals, the wild pigs, tapirs, foxes and *aguaras*. The donkey also raised an army. His army consisted of donkeys and insects. The jaguar's army stopped at one edge of a glade and the donkey's army stopped at the other side of the glade. The army of the jaguar began to fight and the insects rushed forward and entered the ears, eyes and mouths of the jaguar's army and they fled, greatly frightend. Hence the jaguars' noses are swollen.

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[1] Palometa or piranha (*Serrosalmo sp.*).

100. The Fight of the Serpents (Pedro)

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One day the *kapitsil,* (a big and very poisonous serpent) decided to fight against the ratte-snake. He said he would surely win because he was much the stronger. The rattlesnake realized it would be difficult for him to win because of the size of the *kapitsil,* but he accepted the challenge. They had a terrible fight and at last they killed each other. Their bodies lay on the ground where they had fallen, swollen and rotten.

101. The Dog and the Fox (Pedro)

Formerly the dog was as wild as the fox, who was his friend. One day the dog came close to a village. The people thought he was nice looking and gave him some food. The dog went back and told his friend the fox that he should go with him to the village and stay there where there was plenty of food. The fox did not agree and advised the dog that there would come a day when he would be severely beaten for stealing food. The dog did not pay any attention to the wise advice of his friend and went to live with the people while the fox remained in the bush. One day the fox approached the village and heard the dog crying. He wanted to know what the trouble was and the dog told him that he had stolen some fish and the villagers had beaten him. The fox then reminded him of the advice wherein he had told him what his fate would be.

102. The Ants and the Old Woman (Martin)

Once upon a time there was an old woman. She had two storehouses filled with algarroba pods. The ants heard about it and went to eat her provisions. The women sold one storehouse to the ants. After they had bought it the ants beat a drum during the entire night and at dawn they left the storehouse closed. It was locked for a year and everybody was jealous of the old woman because she refused to give

away her pods. At the end of the year the old woman 539x
opened her storehouse and said, »If the ants don't come to
take away their algarroba, I will use it.» When she opened 773x
the door nothing was left but the husks, the ants had already 825
eaten everything.

103. The Jaguar and the Armadillo (Pedro)

One day the jaguar ate the armadillo's children. To avenge himself the armadillo went to the jaguar and told him that he had a stomach ache from eating too many earth worms, and that he wanted to be cured. He opened his armor and the jaguar sucked his stomach in order to take the disease out. The armadillo let the jaguar put his head on his stomach, but the third time he closed his armor and the jaguar's head was caught. The jaguar was choking and tried to break the armadillo's hold by slinging him against a tree but he was held tight. The jaguar died of suffocation. The armadillo then went to an old woman, who cured the wounds made by the jaguar.

104. The Jaguar and the Aguara (Pedro)

Once upon a time the jaguar invited the *aguara* (Canis Azarae) to have a fight with him. He made fun of the *aguara* and pretended he had no strength. The *aguara* accepted the challenge and they fought. The *aguara* managed to have the sun blind the jaguar and taking advantage of this he killed him.

105. The Jaguar and the Alligator

The jaguar challenged the alligator. The latter accepted and, acting as if he were afraid, withdrew slowly. The jaguar, sure that he would be the winner, insulted the *yacaré* and followed him. The alligator entered the lagoon and in his excitement over the fight the jaguar also went into the water. In the middle of the lagoon the alligator began to

X539 X773 825 fight and he killed the jaguar by striking him on the head with his tail and biting him on the neck. He let the jaguar rot in the middle of the lagoon.

106. The Dog's Beer (Pedro)

The dog gathered all the filth he could find, put it in a hollow *palo borracho* and made it into beer. When the beverage was ready he invited everyone to come and drink it. Birds and mammals hastened there and drank as much as they could. The animals unused to filth were disgusted and vomited, but the others, used to carrion and dirt, remained and got drunk, danced and sang while the dog beat his drum. (XVIII).

107. The Owl's Beer (Pedro)

The owl (*holit*) made some beer in a little trough and invited everyone in to share it with him. All came, but each carried an axe in case the beer did not hold out. When they arrived and saw the small container they burst into laughter and said that the little vessel would never contain sufficient beer to make them all drunk. The owl said that they should drink without worrying. Whenever the vessel was empty the owl looked at the interior and the vessel would fill again. The owl did this twenty times, until all his guests were drunk. When they left they were so intoxicated that they could not find their axes and furthermore they lost their hats and girdles.

108. WetyamLi[1] and the Deer (Pedro)

One day *WetyamLi* was in the bush. He saw a bee. He threw his stick at it in order to kill it, but he missed and the stick fell to the ground with a loud noise. He went to see what the trouble was and found that instead of killing a bee he had killed a deer. He skinned it, prepared the

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[1] See p. 70

meat and ate it. Then he continued on his way. While 539
he rode his horse's rear foot slipped into a hole full of honey;
he removed his horse's hoof and sucked it. Then he went 773
on his way. A little further on he saw a *lachiwana*-bee. 825
Without saying a word he killed it and ate the honey. He
ate so much honey he started to choke, so he ran to a pool
and drank some water to get the honey down. When he
felt better he remounted and attempted to follow a deer.
But in the pursuit his horse's testicles rolled themselves
around a *palo santo* and broke the the tree down. The tree
in falling crushed the horse.

109. WetyamLi, the Ostrich and the Armadillo (Pedro)

One day as *WetyamLi* was hunting in the bush the strings of his sandals came loose and one of them killed an *ostrich*. *WetyamLi* roasted him and ate him before going further. A little later he heard someone coughing and as he approached the place from which the sound came he saw it was an armadillo. *WetyamLi* was going to kill him but the armadillo begged him to spare his life, explaining that he had almost choked on »mestizo» honey and asked him for something to drink. After the armadillo had drunk the water given him by *WetyamLi* he asked for a bag in which to put honey. He filled the bag with honey and gave it to *WetyamLi*.

WetyamLi went hunting with his dogs and they scented something. He found a little iguana trying to put a big slice of honey into her *sandia del monte* bag. She could not get the honey in because the bag was too small. The dogs followed the little iguana intending to kill her but she begged them to kill her father who was already full grown.

110. The Jaguar and the Tiger-cat (Martin)

The jaguar could not hunt. One day he met a tiger-cat. The tiger-cat said to the jaguar, »Grandfather, why are you

X 539 lean? You use only one paw while hunting, don't you?»
X 773 The jaguar answered, »I cannot hunt because I use only one
paw.» The tiger-cat said, »I will teach you how to catch a
825 bird or an animal with two paws.» Then the tiger-cat went out and caught a bird with both paws. He said, »You must hunt this way.» The jaguar went out and killed a cow, using both his paws. With the help of the wild cat the jaguar learned to hunt.

111. The Fox and the Jaguar (Pedro)

The jaguar is the master of all animals. He appointed the fox to dry meat for him, but he paid his servant very little and he was stingy about the meat he gave the fox. One day, while the jaguar was enjoying his siesta, the fox, who was obliged to keep the flies away from the jaguar, decided to avenge himself. He caught all the flies he could and put them in a bladder full of air. He tied it to the jaguar's tail. The jaguar had dogs who hunted by themselves and signaled to him the presence of game. The jaguar mistook the buzzing of the flies in the bladder for the barking of his dogs which he thought had found some animal. He woke up with a start and said, »It seems my dogs are hunting». He went to fetch his club and ran in the direction from which the noise seemed to come. When he had gone a short distance he heard the same buzzing in another direction and he turned back to the place he had just left, but then he heard the same noise near the spot he had just left. He ran there, but changed his course a few minutes later. He did the same thing four of five times until it occured to him to look at his tail. He understood the trick the fox had played on him and in great anger went home to punish him. In the meantime the fox had fled, taking with him all the jaguar's dried meat.

The jaguar followed his trail. He met a fox but he did not know whether it was the one he was seeking or another. He asked, »Did you steal my meat?» »No, it was my father-in-law.» To discover whether the fox was lying the jaguar asked him to defecate and he looked at the excrement. He found only bits of crab meat. The jaguar went away and left the fox in peace.

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The jaguar went on a long journey and during his absence he entrusted his wife to the fox. As soon as the jaguar left the fox slept with his wife. Upon the jaguars return he smelt the vulva of his wife and noticed the odor of fox. The jaguar beat his wife and then went in pursuit of the fox, but could not find him.

112. The Jaguar and the Fox (Martin)

There was a jaguar living with his female. A fox called on him and said, »I want to be your companion.» Every day the fox and jaguar went hunting together. The fox called the jaguar »uncle». One day the fox said, »Uncle, I cannot go with you today.» »Well, stay here with your aunt.» The fox remained with the female jaguar. He slept with her and when the jaguar came back he found the fox with his wife. He ran forward to kill him, but the fox fled. The jaguar went after him and at last caught him by a hind leg. The fox mentioned that he had a thorn in his paw and asked the jaguar to lend him his knife. The jaguar handed him the knife, but the fox threw it away. As the jaguar went to pick it up the fox escaped. He concealed himself in a cave. The jaguar picked up a stone and painted it the color of himself and then put it at the entrance to the cave. Each time the fox saw the rock he decided not go out until he was so thirsty and hungry he could stand it no longer. »I will go out even if the jaguar eats me,» said the fox. He went and touched the stone and said, »The jaguar has fooled me.»

113. The Tiger-cat and the Rat

One day while the tiger-cat was hunting he found a rat which he intended to kill but the rat crept into a hole in the ground where the tiger-cat could not catch him. To induce

X 539 X 773 825

him to come out the tiger-cat invited the rat to play with him. The rat said that he would never do that because he knew what the tiger's intentions were. The tiger-cat insisted and insisted, but the rat firmly refused to leave his hole. The tiger-cat threatened to call his friend the owl (*čiličuk*) and have him bring the rat out but the rat said that he would call his good friend the vulture to lift the owl high in the air and drop him on the ground. The tiger-cat was afraid and ran away. The rat then left his hiding place.

114. The Fight between the Fishhook and the Net (Pedro)

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One day the fishhook and the net quarreled. The net said that the fishhook was useless because he could not catch more than one fish at a time, while he, the net, could take many fish at once. The fishhook replied that it was true that the net was able to take many fish at one time, but if a piranha-fish happened to be caught in the net he could cut the threads, let all the fish escape, and make the owner very angry. The hook never let his prey go. The net answered that the fishhook was right, but that it was not exceptional for a *palometa* fish to cut the line from a hook and then the hook would be lost.

115. The Fight between the Earthen Pot and the Iron Pot (Pedro)

The iron pot reproached the earthen pot for not cooking the food fast enough. The earthen pot answered that it was easier to lift to put under the fire and after all he also cooked the food. The two pots fought and naturally the iron pot won.

116. The Fight between the Earthen Pot and the Calabash (Pedro)

The earthen pot once reproached the calabash for not being useful. The earthen said, »When they put you in the water you don't sink, but I sink even if the water is frozen.»

H. TALES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN OR WITH PREDOMINANT EUROPEAN ELEMENTS

117. The Magic Flight (Pedro)

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A Matako had a very pretty daugther who was loved by a man. The girl's father said, »I will give you my daughter if by noon you dig a well deep enough for me to get water from.» At noon the girl took her lover some food and found that he had only dug a hole six feet deep. The girl said, »I love you, I will help you and then we can marry.» She blew and the earth cracked open and the man drew water out of the well. The girl returned to her father and he asked, »Has he drawn water from the well?» »Yes.» »You may marry him, he is a good worker.»

The girl's father then ordered the man to build a corral and to have it finished by noon. At the time the woman went to give him ~~his~~ food she saw that he had only put up poles for a distance of 300 feet. She said, »I love you, I will help you so you can finish your work quickly.» She blew and her breath felled trees and broke off branches which went over and stuck themselves upright in the ground. The fence was completed right away. The father wanted to give him another task. The woman said to her husband, »I cannot help you, we must flee otherwise my father will kill you.» Before they left the girl made a heap of saliva and left it in her hut. During the night the father, who was distrustful, kept calling his daughter to see if she was in her hut. The saliva answered him each time he called but as the night wore on the voice became weak and in the morning the words could hardly be heard for the saliva had dried up. The father was aware of the trick his daugther had played on him and he started to pursue her. When the daughter heard her father following them she changed her husband into a *yuchan*[1] and herself into a log lying across the road. The couple fled farther and as the father drew

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[1] Bombaceae, see note 1 p. 18.

177 near again the girl threw her comb and it became a forest. x 539 In order to escape her angry father who followed her everywhere she changed herself first into a *tartago* (Ricinus) and x 773 then into a hawk (*carancho*). At last she changed herself into a river so wide that her father could not cross over to the other side.

[Another version of this tale tells how the girl became pregnant and gave birth the same day. When the father opened the door of his daugther's hut he found in it a child who was his grandson.]

118. Opa (Pedro)

Opa had a brother who forced him to gather the corn in his field. There were many stalks of corn and the work was to be finished before midnight. Opa did his best but he knew that he could never finish the work in time. The ants came to help him and they gathered all the corn. When the brother came to see how the work was progressing he found that the work had been completed.

The same brother ordered Opa to drink all the water in a certain pool Opa drank as much as he could but the pool was not dry. He heard the voice of *Katęla*, mother-in-law of the water. She said, »You could never drink all that water, but I will help you.» She drank and the pool dried up at once. The brother of Opa was very pleased.

Opa caught many fish with a hook. His brother was also lucky. They set out again and the brother said to Opa, »We shall eat our fish, but let us begin with yours.» Opa agreed. His brother ate all the fish but when Opa wanted to have his brother's fish he was refused. Opa was left with nothing to eat. He went back to the pool and fished again. He caught even more fish than he had the first time. His brother came and asked him for some fish as he was very hungry. Opa would not give him any because his brother was stingy and bad.

119. The Boy Who Killed the Rainbow (Pedro)

A boy was ordered to look after his grandmother's sheep. 177
One day a man who was passing by offered to trade him a 539x
dog for a sheep. At first the boy was not willing for he was
afraid his grandmother would beat him, but the man assured 773x
him the dog would fight for him because instead of nails in his paws there were knives. The boy went home, leaving the dog outside after having ordered him to run to his side if he called to him. He went inside the house and his grandmother began to beat him. He called his dog and the dog rushed into the house with such force that the door was flung against the woman and she fell down. As she was getting up the old woman said she believed he had exchanged a sheep for the dog and she caught the dog and tied him up. Then the old woman ordered the boy to climb a tree and when he was up the tree she let her husband's wild pigs loose. When the wild pigs began to root up the tree the boy called to his dog, who cut his leash and killed the wild pigs. The old woman, angry at the death of her husband's wild pigs, sent the boy to his sister who was married to a rainbow. Before arriving at his sisters the boy hold his dog to come as soon as he called. He arrived at the womans' house and told her that his grandmother had beaten him for having given a sheep to a hungry traveler. He was careful not to tell her that he had exchanged the sheep for a dog. He asked her for a sheep to replace the one he had given away. She told him that he had done wrong by coming to her for her husband, the rainbow, would eat him when he returned. She advised him to run away before the return of her husband, but he did not follow her advice. When her husband was coming home she hid the boy behind same hides. The rainbow smelled the odor of man and asked his wife who was there. She said there was nobody there and that he was just smelling *charqui*.[1] Not satisfied with her answer the

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[1] Dry meat.

177 rainbow looked everywhere, found nothing and went to
x539 sleep. The boy left his hiding place, sharpened his knife
and cut the rainbow's throat, but the rainbow awoke and
x773 swallowed the boy just after he had called his dog. The
dog rushed in and grabbing the rainbow by the back tore
his belly open. The boy got out and cut the body of the
rainbow into pieces and threw them away. The woman
said that since he had killed her husband, she was going to
marry him and that she would see if he would give her
human dry meat. The boy told her that he was not as bad
as the rainbow and that he would kill many animals.

120. The Boy Who Killed the Rainbow (second version) (Martin)

Once there was an old woman who owned many sheep. She had no one to take care of her flocks and she wanted a herder. One day in going to get some wood she discovered a child in a lonely place. She took him in and fed him. She did not know who the child belonged to but she was satisfied because it was a boy. She thought, »He will grow up and be my servant.» The child grew up and began to tend herd. One day he met two devils and he struck a bargain with them. They gave him two dogs in exchange for some sheep. The boy knew the sheep were not his, but the devils insisted so much that he was obliged to agree. He went back to his house and the old woman counted the sheep. She saw that some where missing. She said, »Where are the missing sheep?» He answered, »I met two men and I was so afraid they might kill me I traded some sheep for two dogs.» The boy was left with the dogs. The following day the old woman made herself sick and said to the child, »Go and get me some herbs, don't take the dogs with you but leave them here.» The dogs were kept in the house tied with thick chains. They were lying very quietly together paying attention to each noise. The boy set out and found a tree with some flowers. These flowers were the herbs the old

woman wanted. The herbs were defended by some wild 177
boars that arrived with thunder and wind. The child seeing
them shouted. The dogs heard him and broke their chains, 539x
which fell off, and ran to help their master. They charged 773x
the wild boars, routed and killed them. The child picked the flowers and took them to his mother.

The following day he set out on a journey with the two dogs. At sunset he found a house and stayed there. The people there told him to avoid taking a certain road where there was a man who ate people. The child said, »I will kill that man.» He arrived where the man was. This man was the *lewo* (rainbow). There the boy met his sister. »How are you, my sister?» She replied, »I am a prisoner of that man. Why did you come here? That man will eat you.» »No, I will kill him first.» He went out of the house. The man reached him. He had thunder and lightning with him and rain. The child tied a pair of scissors to the neck of each dog. The monster swallowed the dogs and they passed from one side to the other in his stomach, badly tearing his internal organs. The monster was like a whale and he tried to drown them by spewing water everywhere, but the dogs shook the water off.

121. The Children and the Jaguar (Martin)

Once there were a man and a woman who lived in a village. They were upset by their two children, a boy and a girl, because they never allowed them to make any pots. The man took them to the forest. He found there a honey comb in a tree. He dug it out. When he got the honey out of the tree he said to the children, »Stay here and enjoy this honey, I will go and get some more. As soon as I find it I will call you.» The children remained there and ate the honey. At sunset the boy said, »Our father is certainly lost, that is why he has not called us.» They began to shout and cry and look for him, but their father did not answer for he had

177 gone home. Late in the evening they discovered a stone
x539 house in the middle of a glade. On the top of the house was
x773 a chair and leading up to the chair were some stairs. The children sat on top of the house and waited. About eight o'clock they heard the roaring of jaguars. The girl said to her brother, »What is it?» The boy answered, »Do not be afraid, you hear the drum of our father, tomorrow we will go home.»

When the jaguar arrived, the girl cried. The boy threw at it with his sling and almost killed the jaguar. The jaguar said »My children, don't be afraid, I have come to save you.» They went down and dressed the jaguar's wound, which was full of worms. The jaguar recovered. The following day the jaguar brought them a cow which they butchered. As they were eating the meat another jaguar happened to pass by. He said to the first jaguar, »Why are you keeping these children, you feed them although you know their parents hate us.» »They are my children, said the jaguar, they came to see me. If you are intending to slaughter them, you must start with me.» The jaguars fought over the children. The boy helped his friend and together they killed the other jaguar. The jaguar took the children with him so that they might learn something about the world. The children were already grown up. They set out for a village 50 miles away. Halfway there they found a huge serpent blocking the road. The people they met on their way said to them, »Don't go there the serpent will eat you.» But the jaguar and the children answered, »We shall go and if we meet the serpent, well, we shall kill it.» The people treated the three voyagers with kindness. Before reaching the serpent there was a house where they lodged. The woman, who owned the house, told them, »The serpent will eat you.» The boy replied, »If you see crows flying there you will know we are dead, but if you don't see them it will be a sign that we are on the other side.»

They found the serpent sleeping. The jaguar seized it by the neck and the boy cut it into pieces with a cutlass. They

butchered the serpent. They were already in the new 177
country. They arrived at a little house. The owner said, 539x
»How could you come, the serpent kills everybody?» Well,
we have killed the serpent.» The man notified the village, 773x
»A man has finished the serpent.» The people would not believe it. A chief gathered the people and said, »Let us go and see what the trouble is.» The chief went away with his party. He found the dead serpent. He cut off its tail and its head but the child had cut out its tongue long before and had kept it.

The chief went back and presented the head and tail to the great chief saying, »I have killed the serpent.» The great chief called the boy and asked him if it was true that he had slaughtered the serpent. The boy said, »It is true, here you have the tongue.» The chief was very angry having the great chief treat him as a liar. The chief lay in ambush for the boy. He was going to kill him. Early in the morning he went to catch him. The boy had only his knife but with it he killed all his enemies. He remained in the village and the jaguar came back.

122. The Boy Who Killed the Wicked Men (Martin)

There was an old man who had a daughter. The daughter had lost her husband and she remained a widow with two children. (XIX). The old man, who was one-eyed, told the children that they should not eat fish. They had always obeyed him. They set out and found a ~~pool~~ full of fish and one of the children said, »Even though our grandfather forbids us to eat fish because he is one-eyed, we will eat some.» When they returned to their home that evening they said, »Mother, we ate fish today.» The old man heard them and said, »So you have eaten fish today?» He got up and chased them with a cudgel to beat them for having disobeyed him. The boys went to a village where there were houses. The owners were giants who blocked the way and ate people.

177 The boy[1] stayed there and the giants allowed him to rest.
X539 At sunset the giants fell asleep. The boy was awake and
X773 thinking how he could escape. While the people were asleep he got out and went on his journey. He arrived at the world's end, at the seashore. Before he arrived there he met a widow. The widow received him very kindly and gave him food. She told him how he could cross the sea. He arrived at the sea and an alligator came near. He said, »I want to go to the other side.» The animal said, »Get on me.» He got on the alligator and he landed on the other side. There he found a village with very nice people. He remained with them. The chief of the people liked the boy very much. He stayed there one year. Sometimes the village would disappear and sometimed it would come back. One day the boy said to the chief, »Father, I want to go back.» The man said, »All right, I shall give you a stick which will be useful to you on many occasions.» He gave him the stick and the boy returned, crossing the sea on the back of the alligator. He set out and arrived at the place of the widow. He said to her, »I will kill the bad people who killed your husbands.» The widow was greatly pleased and she gave him much food so that he could go on with his journey. He arrived where the wicked men were. They said, »Here is the man who escaped us, we shall eat him.» The boy said, »All right, here I am, do what you will with me.» The bad men came and he knocked them down with his stick.

There was peace in the world and everybody was happy for he had killed the wicked people. The boy set out and arrived in his country. His mother was very happy and he killed his grandfather who had made him leave home.

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[1] The informant forgot about the second son and in the continuation of his story speaks of one only.

123. The Child and the Friendly Animals

There were three fishermen and their mother, who was a 171
very old woman. They fisherman set out on a journey. The
first day they held a meeting and they decided that they 539x
would eat first the provisions of their younger brother and 773x
later the food of the two others. They did as they planned.
When they had finished they had not done as they, but each
of the elder brothers ate his provisions without giving a bit
to their younger brother. The poor boy was obliged to live
on the little that was left. On their way they met some ants
who were trying to eat a piece of bread. The elder brothers
said to the younger one, »Eat that piece of bread.» The boy
said, »Poor animals they are not like us, they have no hands.
I will crumble this piece of bread so that they can eat.» He
crumbled it and the ants ate. Farther on they met a falcon
with a pigeon. The brothers said, »Take that pigeon from
the falcon.» But the boy replied, »I will cut up this pigeon
in order that the falcon can eat it more easily, the poor bird
has no knife.» He gave the falcon the meat chopped up in
small pieces. The falcon said, »Thank you, if you need me,
I will help you.» Still farther on they met a jaguar and a
puma and a prairie wolf (*aguara*). They had killed a cow
and they were trying to quarter it. The brothers said, »If
you are hungry you can take meat from this cow that the
animals have slain.» The boy said, »They have no knife, I
will help them quarter the cow. Each shall receive his share.»
He did as he had said. The tiger said, »Son, if ever you get
into any trouble and cannot get out of it, call us, we will be
there.»

In the evening they arrived at the house of a man. This man had large fields sown with rice. He spoke to the brothers and asked them if they could help him harvest his crop for a distance of four miles. The two elder brothers pointed to the younger one and said, »He knows how to do it in a moment.» The boy did not know what to do. The owner

177 of the field was a devil. He said to the child, »I will wait
539 until you succeed,» and he went to his house to take a nap.

773 The boy set out and on his way met an old woman. She spoke to him, »Why are you so sad? Why are you crying?» »It is the fault of my brothers who abuse and harm me every day.» The old woman said, »Don't you remember the animals you helped? They are waiting for you.» The boy realised that it was true. He went away and met a big ant. The ant said, »If you have some bread, put a piece at each corner.» He did so. In the night a party of ants gathered around the field and harvested it. At dawn the rice was stored up and you could see piles of it very clean without straw. They boy removed the rice. The devil was satisfied. That same day he went to the brothers and said, »Which of you can rescue my daughter who is in the power of another devil?» The brothers pointed to their younger brother. »He can do that.» The younger one set out in search of the woman. Before he arrived he met the puma, jaguar, and the prairie wolf (*aguara*) and also the falcon and the ants. The tiger gave him some good advice. The falcon spoke, »You change into a falcon.» The boy changed himself into a falcon. He found the stolen woman sitting with her husband in the lobby of house. The man was so bad that he would kill everything that came near his house. The man stood up and seized his bow and arrow to kill the falcon, but the girl said, »Don't kill him, he is tame, I will give him some food.» The man did not kill him. The bird went out. He held another meeting with his friends, the animals. »How can I kill this man? The father of the girl told me that he cannot be slain even if he is cut into pieces.» The jaguar said, »You must find out how many lives this giant has and in what way he can be put to death. Go and ask the girl. She will ask the man and when the girl finds out you will certainly hear about it.» The boy again changed himself into a falcon and went to see the girl. He chose a moment when she was alone and said, »I am a man sent by your

father. I wish to have you ask that man how he is going to 177
die, how he can be killed.» It was time for dinner. They 539x
were eating. Before they had finished the girl spoke, »Why 113x
don't you die when they kill you? If you really love me you will tell me where your life is and what your death is.» The devil said, »Why should I not love you, I love you very much. At last he said, »I have my life in a lagoon. My first life is a bull, in the bull is a cactus, in the cactus is a pigeon, in the pigeon an egg and in the egg my life. That is the last one. The man who kills these three animals and brings the egg and strikes me on the forehead will end my lives.» They finished their meal at the siesta time. The falcon went out again. The boy returned to his fellow animals and told them what he had heard. They discussed the matter and went to see where the bull was. They found him sleeping under an algarroba tree. The jaguar and the puma hunted the bull and killed it. They cut it and opened its stomach. The cactus jumped out and ran to a pool. They caught it and cut off its head. They opened it. The pigeon flew out, but before it reached the lagoon the falcon captured it and brought it back. They opened its stomach and took an egg out. The boy set out this time in the guise of a boy. When he arrived at the devil's house the devil was dying. He struck him on the head with the egg and his life ended. They took the woman to give her back to her father. He was very pleased to see her again. The devil said to the young man, »If you wish you may marry my daughter.» But the boy thought, »If I marry the daughter of this devil, perhaps he will kill me, I had better go». He said to the devil, »My brothers can get water out of this stone.» The devil ordered them to get water out of the stone. They could not and the devil killed them and ate them. The boy went back to his mother.

3: Metraux E-5 (~~1~~933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

NOTES

I. The Spirits of the Dead

114 1) *Husek* (*o-husek* or *no-husek* = my soul) is the »god»
we have inside of us when we are living. This spirit goes
away when we dream. It does not reside in any particular
organ but is everywhere in our body. It is through the *husek*
115 that we know what is going to happen. When we die the
husek becomes an *āhat*, when the *āhat* dies it becomes a
825 bird called *xwitson*. The *xwitson* becomes an *katak* fly and
the fly a *ḳipḳip* bird, the *ḳipḳip* becomes a spider (*xwiatę*)
and the *xwiatę* becomes a bat (*asus*) and then disappears.

2) The love spirit is called *soitayax*. She is beautiful, all
116 adorned with necklaces and bracelets, exactly like a woman
831 falling in love. She is very fond of men and it is she who
837 commands women to love. When a woman leaves her husband and goes to another man, it is because her soul has tired of the first husband. In the same way a man takes another wife, his soul craves a change.

115 3) Now and then the *āhat* comes back shortly after death. In such cases, he is very bad. His eyes are yellow. If an *āhat* comes back he goes directly to the house where women are alone, generally the women become frightened and run away. The *āhat* like to sleep with women. They tell them that they are going to bathe and that they will come back very clean and good-looking.[1]

4) At times the spirit comes back to visit his grave, but this only occurs a few days after death, before he has had time to go to his family house in the underworld.

5) The soul goes to the abode of the dead riding a beautiful horse, well-saddled and carrying all that is necessary for the trip. The soul also drives in a car, from one village to another and wanders everywhere. On his way to the land

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[1] It is said that the *āhat* are dirty, but my informant was not of that opinion. He told me that all the *āhat* he had seen were clean and beautiful.

of the dead the *āhat* hunts, gathers fruit and goes fishing for food. When he arrives at the abode of the dead, his people come to meet him and they take him to their house. 775

6) The dead inhabit a region of their own situated under the one we live in. When it is daylight here it is dark in their region. [772]

The *āhat* sleep during the day and at night search for food. They feed on dead animals and fish. Their life is exactly the same as that of living persons. They have underground fields and lagoons. They cultivate the earth the same as we do, raise animals and go fishing.

The *āhat* fight each other like the living Bolivians and Paraguayans do. The spirits of the Matako are at war with those of the Toba.

7) A dead person is called an *āhat*. The *āhat* live in the bush and appear only at night. We do not know exactly what they do in the bush nor what they eat. Some of them may be good. The medicine-men may talk with them and learn what is going to happen. For instance, they predict disease and future death. [787]

8) When a man sees an *āhat* he will die unless he is a medicine-man. When a person is dying an *āhat* comes and steals his fire. [761]

9) When the north wind blows very hard, the *āhat* leave their abode and walk about the earth looking for uninhabited places. If they see a man they vanish under the earth, but sometimes they are seen from afar. Frequently the *āhat* transform themselves into the north wind, which brings storms. [821]

10) If you dream that you are visiting the land of the *āhat* and one of them invites you to eat, you must refuse. If you accept you may die during the following year.

II. The Medicine-men and the Big Fire

A medicine-man may call on the Big Fire at the end of the world. On the journey he crosses first a rainy area and then he comes to a dark zone where it is impossible to see. 756 773

756 To pass through this darkness the medicine-man changes into a species of owl (*sinalčǫ*). This is a bird who travels 773 by night and whose eyes are like lanterns. In this disguise he is able to fly in the dark. After crossing the dark area he changes himself into a (white aquatic bird with red-circled eyes. When he arrives at the Big Fire's house he changes himself into a *carancho* and in this last disguise he calls on the Big Fire. They get acquainted and are very friendly. Later the *carancho* changes himself into a beautiful and well dressed woman. Big Fire is on good terms with the beautiful woman. Soon she becomes a man again. Big Fire asks the medicine-man if there is much bush in his country. The medicine-man takes care not to mention straw, bushes or trees, otherwise Big Fire will eat them up. The medicine-man goes home.

III. The Medicine-men

756 A man who wants to become a medicine-man must eat raw dog flesh. Ordinarily the candidate slays a young pup eats its flesh, and buries its head and skin very carefully.

756 Medicine dances are taught the prospective medicine-men by demons or spirits who give them their power. The *welán* 776 are the spirits who are the most inclined to instruct men in the art of magic. The ordinary method in this procedure is as follows: The soul of a man is ravished by a *welán* and shut into a tree. There the man's soul remains captive and the *welán* teaches it the language of the spirit, then the *welán* blows on the prospective medicine-man and he thus acquires the power to treat sick people who come to him, using the same method. Medicine-men are constantly in touch with the spirits. They meet them at night and talk with them. The spirits have a stick called *laḳaaLoi* which contains their souls and this they give to their friends, the medicine-men.

756 Some women may acquire medical knowledge, but the Indians never consider them as smart as male doctors.

Young men seen dancing while an old medicine-man is performing a treatment are practicing the fundamentals of the art before becoming full fledged doctors. Not all succeed for the trials laid on the medicine-man's soul during the journey to the spirits are hard and many give up. 756 ✓

When a medicine-man performs his ceremonies, or as the natives say »dice misa», he changes himself into a white bird called *yulo* in Spanish. The medicine-man is said to transform himself into a bird, but when asked how such a change occurs without the body of the magician undergoing a change, the natives explained that only the soul of the man becomes a bird. In order to send his soul abroad in the shape of a bird the medicine-man plays for a long time on a flute made of the bone of a *yulo* bird. By so doing he creates an intimate contact between himself and the bird, 756 but the real transformation occurs only after he has snuffed a powder called *hatax*. This intoxicating powder is prepared 276 from the seeds of the *sebil* (*hatek*), a very common tree which grows abundantly in the Chaco and in the north of Argentina. The seeds are gathered, parched and pounded in a wooden mortar. The powder is exposed to the air a long time and then put in a calabash that has been used by medicine-men during their ceremonies. When the medicine-man has changed himself or his soul into a bird he 756 goes into the sky »like an airplane» and calls on Rain to make him fall. To meet Rain he must enter his house through a very narrow door.

Just before sowing time the medicine-men go up into the sky to get rain. Without their aid the crop would dry up. Thus at the village Km. 600, all the cattle would have died had it not been for the Matako medicine-men who helped the white men by calling on the rain.

Old people say that once there was a heavy rain and some children became frightened and the Rain took them up into the heavens. A medicine-man in the form of a bird went up to bring them back.

756 The medicine-men who have snuffed the powder of *sebil* seeds (*hatax*) and gone into a trance, see everything, especially the disease demons. They also see bad medicine-men. When in this state they may also call on the spirits of the dead (*ähat*). Such visits to the dead may sometimes help to cure a patient, for if it is the spirit of a dead person who caused the sickness, he can also take it away. A medicine-man has to pay the disease demon when he cures somebody and so he in turn charges the patient. The fees of a medicine-man are extremely high. My informant Pedro, for instance, has paid a poncho (value of 18 pesos) for being cured of snake bite. If the patient dies, the medicine-man is not entitled to a fee, even a very small one. However, his professional fame is not lessened.

If a medicine-man has not succeeded in effecting a cure, another one is called in, but then the task is more difficult as the disease has lost its temper. It is also important to call the right specialist. Certain doctors have acquired fame for curing particular diseases. Snake bites are usually treated by special medicine-men.

756 787 761 When medicine-men perform magical rites, a very big tree covered with green leaves, similar to those of a palm tree and also extremely thick, appears before them. This tree always emits a noise which only medicine-men perceive. If this same tree appears to the medicine-men without leaves and quite dry, it presages death for him. He then knows that he has only one year to live. Through magic the medicine-man knows when his last moment is near. He has only to let the tree come. When his time arrives the magic tree comes down from the sky, stops at a certain height above the ground near the medicine-man, who throws himself on the ground, and as soon as he has breathed his last the tree gets up and bursts «like a bomb». It is the end for the medicine-man and the tree. The soul of the dead medicine-man goes to the sky to the place where the tree had been. [775]

The medicine-man always knows beforehand when the red grasshopper (*čol*) will come. The striped grasshopper (*talesai*) lives inside a kind of very big gourd (*wotsotáx*). The grasshoppers belong to a master who sends them everywhere. During the summer they are out but at the first cold weather, they return to their squash. 756 825

Each year in the month of August, the medicine-men have a ceremony in order to go and see the *lachiwana* bees to ask them to come down to earth once more. For this event the medicine-men snuff *hatax* powder. They go up where the mother of all bees lives. She is as large as a house. To reach her the medicine-men transform themselves into *aguaraguasu* (*Canis jubatus*). The mother of the bees requires presents since she is afraid that by burning the old prairies her children might get burned too.

If someone speaks ill of a medicine-man, the latter's familiar spirit may enter the offender's body and thus avenge the insult. The soul of the medicine-man (*táxumit*) is ferocious. When the medicine-man is at odds with someone, his *táxumit* inflicts illness on the person with whom he is angry and no one except the medicine-man is able to cure the victim. It is wise therefore to stay on good terms with medicine-men. 756 774

IV. The Sun and the Medicine-men

The medicine-men may go and visit the Sun, Moon, the Night, the Rain and the Big Fire to make friends with them. During these trips they always go in gangs led by an older man who is expert in the difficult art of overcoming the numerous obstacles they meet on the way. He is the spiritual father of the younger medicine-men. If wandering medicine-men meet those of other villages, they fight and the spirits of those wounded or killed during the trips will be sick or will die on earth, for all that happens to the spirit must inevitably happen to the body. Medicine-men never fight on earth, and only while under the influence of *hatax* do 756

756 they fight in the sky. Upon awakening a vanquished medi-
cine-man informs his family of his defeat.

Medicine-men like to visit the Sun for he is like a peddler,
756 he knows everything. To protect the entrance to his abode
821 the Sun has made a slippery trail. Those who step on it
slip down and break their necks. The Sun gets the dead
and eats them, generally broiled or stewed. The medicine-
men know how to escape this danger. They transform
themselves into wax and thus stick to the trail, crossing it
without running the risk of being devoured by the Sun.
The Sun closes the entrance to his abode with a sort of trap.
This trap consists of two beams which knock against each
other and crush those who try to get between them. Me-
dicine-men who have had no experience get crushed. Those
who are skillful transform themselves into humming birds
(*cinax*) and thus pass quickly between the beams before
they have time to close together. Behind the beams the
sun has stretched traps. The medicine-men without ex-
perience get caught by their thumbs in these traps. The
Sun gets them and kills them. Great medicine-men change
into eels and creep between the meshes, thus escaping.

The Sun's abode is surrounded by a palisade of cacti with only one small window. The medicine-men can fly over it if they become humming birds, or they can change into rodents (*sičúm*, a rodent with a flat head) and dig a cave under it. The Sun is very surprised when medicine-men come to him in spite of beams, traps and fences. He goes to his traps and is quite amazed when he does not find anybody in them. When this occurs he has no food. If the soul of a medicine-man is eaten by the Sun, the medicine-man who has stayed on earth dies. When a medicine-man arrives at the Sun's house, after having overcome all the obstacles, he is welcomed by the Sun, who is no longer angry, and in order for the sorcerer to come nearer, the Sun turns colder. Otherwise it would be impossible to approach within 500 yards of him because he burns everything. The Sun asks the medi-

cine-man why he has come. He answers, »I came to have 756
a talk, to call on you and become your friend.» They be- 821
come friends.

V. Origin of the Rio Bermejo

The Rio Bermejo is very deep for it was dug by a big 823
tatu careta (giant armadillo) who wanted to go to the source
of the river.

VI. The New Moon

When there is a new moon, the Indians dance and beat 821
on their drums (*pimpim*). The man who plays a drum wears 535
a belt with hanging pendants of metal, hoofs and so on. 534
They put water into the drum so that the hide will not
get dry.

VII. Menstruation

It is the moon who sleeps first with the girls and that is 881
why they menstruate. When a young girl is menstruating 841
for the first time, she must begin working and doing all she
will have to do later on. If she does not keep active during this period, then she will be lazy all her life. She must be in semi-seclusion for five days, only going out with her father's permission. She may not marry or have sexual intercourse until after her first menstruation. When a woman is menstruating, she must not go to the bush where she could easily become frightened and die.

VIII. Eclipses

An eclipse of the sun or moon foretells disease. When 821
either the sun or moon becomes angry with men it covers 787
itself. To have it uncover it is necessary to beat drums, shout, sing and to make all kinds of noise. When the sun is covered one may expect smallpox.

IX. Storms

821 761 When a storm approaches with rain and thunder, little children's ears are to be covered each time the thunder crashes, otherwise Rain would take them under his arm and carry them away to his house. When such a thing happens, the child's body, which has remained on earth, becomes lean and white and all the food he takes is of no use. He visibly pines away, and it is not likely that a medicine-man can cure him. He will finally die without the cause of his death being known. The rain cannot do anything to grown-ups or big children, for it has not the strength to carry them away. [841] but it can harm menstruating women who happen to be out during a storm. Then they get very feeble.

X. Shooting Stars

821 781 Shooting stars foretell the death of someone. Meteors are stones thrown by the rain in order to fell the *quebracho*.

XI. Treatment of Snake Bites

752 825 When a serpent bites a man, it goes into the wound and climbs up in his body. When a man's foot is bitten by a snake the leg must be pressed starting from the thigh, squeezing down to the place where he has been bitten. In so doing, the snake which has already had time to enter the leg, is obliged to go down into the big toe where it rolls itself up, tired. The operation lasts from evening to dawn and when the sun appears the snake gets cramped and vanishes under the ground. Once the snake is out the medicine-man has to suck the wound, for the departing snake has left its skin inside the body of the victim. The patient is completely cured only when the last piece of skin left by the snake has been removed. Otherwise he remains sick, has a headache and gets thinner and thinner.

If the progress of the snake inside the body cannot be stopped, the animal may go up into the head and blind the victim. It also goes to the heart and after repeated bites

may kill him. The snake's *āhat* is called *punsoya* (perhaps 752
Spanish-ponzoña : poison). 825

When a man is bitten by a snake he must kill the reptile and take it home in order to be cured rapidly. If he has been bitten while away from his home, he must dig a groove and put the snake into it, facing it in the opposite direction to that which he is taking. Thus the snake cannot enter him.

Tawkxwax taught the men the procedure to be followed [773]
in order to cure snake bites.

XII. How to Become a Singer

Those who want to become good singers must go to the 533
bush and stay there for quite a long time. They must kill 787
birds who are good singers and eat then after they have been made into powder and mixed with blood extracted from the arm. When they are in the bush they must first beat a drum, then run. Thus they will perhaps dream about a singing bird. When they wake up they must then take their drums and sing the song they heard in their dreams. One must not awaken until the song is finished or he will not remember it. Everyone has two songs and he must sing them every day in order to learn them. Ordinarily several young men go to the bush and after they have dreamed of a song they sing one after another. Generally three or four days are sufficient to master a song.

One must not sing someone else's song. If after one has 533
eaten a bird he dreams of an iguana, it is no longer worth
while to go on, for he will never become a good singer. The 825
birds one dreams about and who teach one how to sing are 765
not ordinary birds, they are *paata* (supernatural beings). The women do not know how to sing but they can cry when they have to mourn. Not all women know how to weep. In order to weep well, a woman must dream about another woman who is a good mourner. There are some exceptional women who can sing.

XIII. The Diseases

753 776 755 The diseases are demons which have the appearence of men but are invisible. They wear feathers like medicine-men. Smallpox for instance is especially ugly. His head is swollen and full of small holes. He lives not for from Salta, in a cave on a big mountain. The demons of disease live under the ground or within the *yuchanes*. They leave their shelter to enter men and make them sick. In order to get them out of the bodies of sick people one must ask them what they want, for the demons always want something. One has to say, »What do you want?» The demon answers, »Food, dresses, a gun.» All these things are to be given him. But they are equally satisfied with only the sight of these things and men may very well eat the food or make use of the things whose essence the demons have received. It would be very dangerous to eat of a dish before the demon has helped himself. Men dance in order to scare a demon or chase him away. The demon is obliged to participate in the dancing and gets tired. When those who take part in a treatment have danced for a while, the magician speaks to the disease. The disease asks whether they are angry with him. The medicine-man answers, »No, we are dancing as usual.» The disease then says, »Then let us not dance any longer, for I am to dance to-morrow too.»

753 774 Each thing has its *husék* (spirit) or image and it is this image which the disease requires after he has stolen or entered the soul of the man and it is this soul which the medicine-man has gone to get. During the first part of all medical ceremonies, the medicine-man's spirit goes to the disease and asks him which things he wants in return for the sick man's soul.

[124] One of the reasons why the Matako always require payment to let themselves be photographed is that by photographing them one takes their image (spirit) and thus may hurt them. The money they get for the photograph may eventually

serve to pay the medicine-man in case something happens 753
to them. 774

The ceremonial objects whose spirit the disease takes away do not become any weaker, since they may be used directly afterwards.

Even though the disease has been given food, he remains insatiable and wants more. He also wants to take away the things he is offered, that is the reason why the medicine-man is obliged to blow on the objects lest the disease should stick to them. When the disease does not get what he wants, he becomes angry and kills his victim.

The disease, or a bad spirit, introduces into the body of
the sick person small sticks, usually objects which will make 753
him feel pain. The medicine-man has to take them away 755
by sucking the aching parts and he blows the patient to get the sicknes out of his body. Before treating a patient a medicine-man adorns himself with feathers in order to look like disease or the demon who caused it. The diseases and the spirits are very fond of these ornaments and enjoy seeing them on those who cure the patient.

When the malady is not very serious, the patient is treated 755
within his hut for economical reasons. To determine whether or not the patient is to be decorated depends upon the seriousness of his case. The medicine-man and the patient get under the same blanket and the former speaks to the disease. Thus the audience is not too large and the disease is easier to cope with. Sometimes it is satisfied with a quart of alcohol. A sick child is always cured inside the house, except when there is an organized ceremony through which they can profit toward the end.

According to the Indians vaccine exerts a powerful action 751
against the disease and he can no longer attack the individuals thus vaccinated. Shots fired at the end of the ceremony puts the disease to flight and prevents him from desiring the gun with which one assistant danced. To keep away sickness it is good to hang the carapace of a *tatu*

751 / *careta* (big armadillo) or the skin of an alligator in the house. The disease will think that the animals are there and will not go into the house.

a) *The Treatment of Disease*

755 I attended a ceremony for the treatment of disease. The ceremony took place in front of some huts, the space was closed in by awnings and cloth. Inside the enclosure were the patient, the medicine-man and a certain number of individuals who assisted the latter. The patient, an old man, was sitting in the center of the space, his body carefully covered with cloth. The medicine-man stood near him and while murmuring incantations blew on the patient's body through his half clenched hand, beginning with his back, 755 then the shoulders, the face and so on. In the meantime 535 four or five men were dancing without interruption and made all the noise they could with a belt of big bells. They 292 had tied to their feet anklets of deer hoofs and wore around their waists belts of ostrich feathers and on their heads were diadems. One of them held in his hand a bunch of ostrich feathers.

755 535 Their dance consisted of a cadenced and half-jumping walk with slightly bent knees. Some dancers went forward or backward while others stayed in the same spot. During the ceremony the medicine-man received the help of another old man who was also squatting at the patient's side. He began muttering incantations and blowing on the sick man as hard as he could. After one hour of this utterly exhausting exercise, the medicine-man went to a pot full of rice which was carefully concealed by a sheet near the patient. He crouched under the sheet and recited in a supplicative voice a long incantation over the food. Afterwards he blew on the rice with all his strength. He then offered goodly portions of it to all who had taken part in the ceremony. Then the medicine-man went to two *caraguatá* bags full of dresses. He covered them with a cloth under which he crouched. He

pronounced the same incantation, blew on the dresses which 755
were unfolded and taken away. On the heap of dresses had 535
been placed a gun wrapped in a red belt richly inlaid with
shells. One of the dancers seized the gun and slinging it
over his shoulder executed a dance bearing a certain likeness
to the one he had done before. The dancers were relatives
of the sick man, probably his sons.

b) *Treatment of Disease*

A rich woman who was seriously ill was cured by five 755
renowned medicine men. A big open space of about fifteen
feet square was cleared not far from her house. Wooden [417]
posts were erected and a sort of tent set up. One of the
posts, about 20 feet high, was decorated with two large
pieces of cloth and an old Argentine flag. Around the tent
were placed the objects required by the disease, those which
are supposed to please him, a mosquito net, a weaving loom,
an old suitcase, pieces of gaudily colored cloth, a saddle, a
soldier's coat, a lamp, a lance or a gun. A little further
away fires were burning where the disease's food was being
prepared and a pail of water was being heated for the dancers.
The sick woman was seated in the middle of the tent on a
pile of hay and old rags. She had put on her best dress and
was covered with ritual ornaments. The five shamans,
who were old men, were equally adorned with feather belts,
rattles, tropical helmets and other precious objects. The [302]
lower part of their faces was painted black.

There were also some twenty dancers wearing feathers, 755
red belts adorned with shells, rattles, caps, red pieces of 535
cloth, whistles and old broken watches, while perhaps ten [292]
old women ran about holding rags in their hands and one
even held an umbrella. Everybody, including the sick person,
danced and sang, at times the medicine-men and the
sick woman stopped, they blew on her and the dancing was
resumed. After a while the chief medicine-man whistled on

755 his bone flute and the dance stopped abruptly. The sick
535 woman danced alone, lifting slowly one foot and then the other two or three inches above the ground, without moving from one spot. In the meantime ~~two~~ medicine-men shook their rattles. A man clapped his hands laughing, and others shook their rattle gourds. It lasted for about ten minutes, then the medicine-men joined the dance, but for a short time only. After a pause, two of them approached the sick woman and started undressing her. In the meantime another medicine-man was shaking his rattle all along her body, beginning with the head. All the ornaments were slowly removed, the assistants struck the ground at the place where these ornaments fell, and then picked them up and ran to throw them away. They shook them several times, then put them carefully in order. The sick woman sat up in the middle of her tent and was given a drink. The ceremony was interrupted, then resumed again. The entire ceremony lasted from the 20th to the 24th of March, every day from 8 to 11 o'clock and in the evening from 8 to 10 o'clock. Shots were fired every day in order to drive away the disease.

On the 26th of March another woman, who manifested the same symptoms as the first, was cured in the following way: The place already described was used, but the flag was removed and replaced with a large piece of red cloth with blue flowers and on top of the staff there was tied a large bunch of ostrich feathers. The staff itself was decorated with ritual belts, woolen belts trimmed with snail shell beads. On the cross-bars, which separated the tent from the village, offerings of the same type as for the preceding ceremony were placed. During the cure, the sick woman remained sitting the whole time on a pile of hay in the center of the tent, surrounded by four medicine-men and about ten dancers, and further away were six or seven women. All were adorned with ritual belts and bells and all were dancing and singing. A passage had been opened between the cross-bars which was meant as an exit for the disease. If someone stood in the entrance he did not prevent the disease from escaping but he did expose himself to contracting it. 755 535

At a signal from the chief medicine-men, the dancing was interrupted. Two men seized a white and red striped poncho by its extremities and began to dance, making side jumps legs parted. They went to the sick person and put the poncho on her, then they ran with it to the exit and shook it there. They repeated this several times, then they wrapped the woman from head to foot with the poncho and a medicine-man started rubbing her through the cloth, while everybody sang without dancing. After a while the twisted poncho was removed, taken to the exit and thrown away. Then the dance began again. An assistant sprinkled water on the ground and the chief medicine-man stopped the dance once more. He set down near the sick woman, covering himself entirely with a large black blanket and started speaking to the disease. In the meantine, the man who was moistening the ground brought a pail of water and with the assistance of one of the medicine-men he washed the face, head and body of the patient, then she was placed with her feet toward the exit. During the course of the dance, the assistant moistened the shoulders of the male dancers, while an old [302] man painted the women's faces, making two red dots on their cheeks and a stripe along the nose. During this dance a medicine-man blew on the sick woman and another covered her face with a piece of red cloth. After a while the woman lay down and the dance went on, the paricipants assuming threatening expressions, then suddenly all looked very satisfied. The ceremony was interrupted, then after an hour's time it was resumed.

On the following day another woman was taken sick — but 755 not such a rich one — and another treatment of a more modest character was undertaken. In front of the woman's house a tent was stretched and she was placed in the tent. The offerings consisted only of some pieces of cloth and a few bags. When I arrived the chief medicine-man was speak-

755 ing to the disease while an old woman, who was a magician, sang and blew on the patient. The others were talking among themselves without paying any attention to what was happening. After a pause, during which everybody drank some of the wine required by the disease, a singing man started to run around the patient, his body bent forward and his arms dangling. The chief medicine-man spoke once more with disease while the medicine-woman continued blowing on the patient and another medicine-man placed around the head of the patient front pages of illustrated papers and popular novels. The man who was running stopped and the chief medicine-man started talking with the others. Everybody sat down and drank some water, then two women began to walk rapidly around the others while they sang. One of them stopped and after a short while the other
[535] one stopped too. Then all who were present started dancing. The dance was interrupted only by the coughing of the patient who seemed to be growing weaker and weaker. She actually died during the ceremony. Immediately after her
[764] death the dance stopped. The old women ran about singing and shaking their rattles. Two men laid the dead woman on her right side and folded her legs and arms. They wrapped her in the pieces of cloth on which she had been lying and she was taken to her home. The medicine-men undressed quietly while the women of the family uttered lamentations.

c) *General Expulsion of Disease*

755
292 The ceremony for general expulsion of disease took place early in the morning in the open air, far from all houses. It was performed by all the medicine-men of the village stand-
[534] ing in a row. All were holding in their hands a rattle-gourd and a bone whistle. Some were provided with strips of cloth to which were attached rattles; the strips were worn across the chest or hung at the elbow. Others wore ceremonial shirts, some wore shirts made of *caraguatá* fiber and one

wore a red knitted shirt of wool decorated with shells. Many 755
wore on their foreheads frontlets trimmed with feathers. 292
Another ceremonial accessory worn by most of them consisted of a bunch ostrich or *potsax* feathers. Two especially 755
famous medicine-men had their faces painted black and red 302
and on the hat of one of them were ostrich feathers. Naturally among the performers were a number of women, some of whom had their cheeks painted red. In front of the per- 755
former's row some spears had been stuck into the ground with the points downward. A spear with the point upward was also stuck in the ground at the same distance away as the others. During the ceremony a bunch of ostrich feathers was fixed to the spear with the head pointed up. When I arrived I noticed in front of the row a young man who was not a magician. He was grinding into a calabash the *hatax* seeds from which the medicine-men later took pinches.

The ceremony consisted of a song without words, identi- 755
cal to that sung by the medicine-men when curing diseases. 533
The singing was punctuated by the rattling of the gourds and from time to time by the clacking of hoof and rattle necklaces and the whistling of the flutes. Each blowing of the whistle indicated a new phase in the traditional sequence of events associated with the ceremony (new metamorphosis of the spirit of the medicine-man, its arrival or departure from a given place). The rattle-gourd is sometimes brandished in a theatening manner as though to scare away an invisible being. In turn, without interrupting the ceremony, some of the performers took a snuff of *hatax* powder. Those who had bunches of feathers stretched them forward making the same gesture which has already been described when speaking of the rattles. One of the performers was running in front and behind his colleagues, holding a bunch of feathers in his hand and dusting them off from head to foot. He was assisted by another who was holding bells and rattles which he shook behind his companions. After they had taken a snuff of *hatax* the performers went on singing, shak-

755 ing the rattles and performing threatening gestures. Some 533 of the medicine-men sang the song of their own spirits ignoring the chants of their colleagues.

These preliminaries were succeeded by a direct attack 755 against the disease. Some individuals stepped out from the row and with violent gestures each brandished his bunch of feathers or the rattle-gourds then returned to their places in line. A man began kicking the earth and was immediately imitated by others who took up handfuls of dust which they threw in front of themselves. The whole troop followed this example and they rushed against the disease. Some concentrated all their strength on a special spot as though they had driven the Disease there, hitting the spot repeatedly with their sabers or bunches of feathers, then stamping on the ground as though they had buried their victim. The attack against the invisible enemy lasted for a long time, much enthusiasm being shown. Others brandished bunches of feathers which they had tied to the points of their spears.

The second part of the ceremony corresponds to what we might call a general desinfection. The medicine-men first wiped one another off, then let their gourds rattle quite close to their colleagues, then blew on each other's heads and necks as though for illness. Then everyone, both men and women, who had attended the ceremony were called. They all sat down and the medicine-men and-women went to them, wiped their bodies with bunches of feathers, blew on their heads and let the rattles tinkle all along their bodies. These rites were performed with the same care on children as on adults. Our friend Sanchez was given special attention. Aften having been blown on by the *cacique* and chief medicine-man, assisted by four magicians, two of whom blew on him and sang, the others shook their rattles, bells and gourds. The medicine-men who had remained in the same place turned around and repeated all the gestures they had performed before. Once more some of them stepped out of the file to cut grass under which they frantically buried the

disease. The sounds of the whistles followed each other at 755
closer intervals and the rattles were shaken with still more energy and persistance. The ceremony was finished when all the members of the community were relieved of the bad influence which had entered them. The expelled disease was the aphtous fever from which the cattle were suffering at that time and which seriously affected the health of many individuals, who had eaten contaminated meat and become ill.

The medicine-men had changed their spirits into *istins* (sort of ravens) to call on the disease. As the disease was particularly severe at this time the first attempt at conciliation did not meet with much success. The men had to change into *masa* (earth bees). When the disease is being expelled, it is chased into the ground.

XIV. Treatment of People Possessed by Ho?nat-Lele

Upon visiting a Matako settlement (near Las Lomitas, 755
Formosa) one night I had the opportunity to be present at 158
the curing of two cases of demoniac possession. In the first case the patient was a girl of 13 or 14 and in the other a child. The girl had gone to the bush and had been caught by a *nọoLe* or a *hoʔnat-Lele* who lives in thickets under the earth. It was not a *welán* who entered the body of the girl as the *welán* live in the *yuchan* only and the girl had not walked near one of these trees. The *hoʔnat-Lele* made its presence known through the girl's hysterical fits. She cried and sobbed as though she were in pain. The Indians told me something was hurting her, although she did not suffer from any disease. They laid particular stress upon this fact. When I arrived the girl 755
was surrounded by an old man who acted as medicine-man, her father, two aunts and another man, whose relationship with the patient I was unable to determine. Each had put on a red poncho with white stripes. The possessed girl and all those with her were standing, with the exception of the medicine-man, who was squatting near the patient's legs.

755 They were as close to the patient as possible and were muttering a low and monotonous chant, marking the rhythm with movements of their bodies. The medicine-man sang in a loud voice and shook rhythmically at regular intervals a belt from which hung hoofs and metal rattles. He brought his instrument quite close to the possessed woman then pulled it back against himself. At a certain moment he pressed the girl's legs with his arms and let the bells tinkle behind her. The poncho was suddenly taken away and the possessed girl burst into tears. I could then observe that she was richly attired and dressed in red. On her head were [301] several broad red belts to which were sewn shell discs. Around her neck and across her breast she wore some collars made of shells and white glass beads in a meshlike pattern.

The medicine-man got up, with the assistance of the spectators, and blew with all his strength on the body of the possessed woman. Instead of becoming quiet she sobbed harder than ever and threw herself into the arms of one of her aunts. Each time she behaved in this manner the medicine-man blew and shook his rattle. As she seemed to be about to fall into a swoon they let her sit down carefully and at her side her relatives sat speaking kindly to her as though to console or quiet her. Then the girl, her aunts and the medicine-man were covered with the same red poncho, the end of which one of the spectators kept in his hand moving it up and down. The medicine-man sang his vociferous chant and shook his bells against his patient once more.

When the poncho was removed I noticed that the woman seemed calmed. She was leaning her head against the shoulder of one of her aunts and nobody spoke. After a while she started to complain again. The medicine-man immediately shook his bells and his assistants consoled her in low voices. One of the women took away all her ornaments, folded them carefully and put them into a bag. Those present remained sitting for some time without uttering a word. The silence was broken only by the medicine-man blowing

on the sick woman. Then, as she seemed to have quited 755
down, they started smoking and talking together. The
possessed woman even accepted a cigarette.

Observations made by natives during the performance: 755
The adornments are worn by the patient on behalf of the
spirit who is fond of the colors. The songs and the noise 776
of the bells are also intended to please the spirit who, charmed
by the ornaments and the noise, gets quieter and leaves
the patient.

During this treatment another group of about eight Indians 755
were participating in a similar ceremony. They were 778
dancing around a kind of improvised altar which consisted
of a stick surrounded by four smaller ones forming a cross.
The central stick was topped by palm leaves, the ends of
which were wrapped in paper strips painted red. The four
other sticks bore palm leaves painted red with the ends cut
off. These sticks were inserted into wooden stands painted
alternately red and black and connected in pairs by transverse
rods. The whole structure was resting on some rags.
A rolled poncho belonging to the medicine-man had been
laid near the central stick. The ground for the ceremony
had been carefully swept. According to my informant the
central stick contained the injurious element which had
caused the disease. That stick was supposed to be loaded
with bad influences and I was warned not to touch it.

The dancers wore different costumes. Two of them had 755
belts of ostrich feathers, and feather wreaths on their heads. 535
In addition they wore bells and rattles on their breasts,
around their loins and their ankles. Around their necks 301
they wore necklaces of sea shells and in one hand they held
a bunch of ostrich feathers. The other dancers wore their
ordinary clothes with the exception of their headbands
and the bells and feathers they wore on their ankles.

When I arrived they were dancing in a circle around the 755
altar, from right to left, looking straight ahead. Their dance 535
step might be defined as a jerky jog-trot. They accompanied

755 535 [533] They accompanied themselves with a very deep song, a sort of *heh, heh,* repeated rhythmically but on different notes. When the dancers got tired they left the file without ceasing to sing, and after they had rested for a while they resumed their places.

The second part consisted of dancing couples. The dancers faced each other in twos, and holding each other by the arm made side jumps, holding their legs parallel but slightly apart. Always moving from right to left they went several times round the altar, from time to time spinning themselves about. When they stopped to catch their breath one of them uttered a loud cry and started to dance alone, that is to say, making side jumps with parted and stiff legs, always facing the altar, although he whirled now and then. After spinning around twice he was joined by the others. They stopped dancing, sat down and one of them took off his ornaments. Another dancer covered himself entirely with a poncho and uttered his ë ë ë, always in the same tone. The medicine-man went to get the poncho he had left near the altar, he put it on the child and started to sing and to blow on the little patient. The dancer who had covered himself with the poncho kept silent, but remained under his cover. When the ceremony was over he began to sing.

a) *Treatment of a Man Possessed by a Spirit*

755 A man was caught by a spirit at about 9 P. M. He was decorated with red belts and placed in the center of the ceremonial ground. He was given two bells and in front of him were stuck three sticks, one of which about 2 yards long was totally covered with a rather dark cloth, the other two between 2½ and 3 feet high had rags and bunches of ostrich feathers fastened to their tops. The two medicine-men, wearing only belts of ostrich feathers and holding in their hands metal rattles, were standing by the side of the patient. A little further away were two assistants (probably

relatives of the patient) and three dancers. All wore 755
rattles.

The medicine-men sang and blew on the patient, who 755
shook the bells, while the dancers and the assistants stamped 535
in one place and let their rattles jingle. The dancers then started to run from left to right and thus made a complete circle. For the second turn, when they arrived at the height of the sticks, they reversed and ran around in the opposite direction, then reversed again and so on. While the assistants were stamping their feet, singing and shaking their rattles, the medicine-men went on singing and blowing. The patient had not moved during the dance. After they had run around ten times, the dancers went to rest, smoke and talk with the assistants, but the medicine-men still blew and shook their rattles. The patient was still motionless. After a quarter of an hour the dance was resumed, this time to the accompaniment of the patient's bells and rattles which all present were shaking. All seemed to be rather happy. The ceremony was then over and they sat down to smoke. The sticks were removed and the ornaments taken off, first those of the medicine-men, then the assistants and dancers, and finally those of the patient. The patient returned quietly to his hut.

XV. Sexual Life

Before marriage nothing prevents young people from having 836
a free sexual life. The girls paint their faces red if they have 302
had sexual intercourse the preceding night.

In love affairs before marriage it is always the women 836
who take the initiative.

If a man has sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman 833
his loins and head will ache. As for the woman, she is in 841
no danger.

You must not sleep with a woman whose child has not 834
yet cut any teeth for the woman will lose her mind and as 828
the child cannot eat alone he will die.

a) *Conception*

831 Sperm is located in the knee. In order to cause an abundant
secretion of sperm, it is advisable to drink broth and
262 milk and to eat chickens. It is important not to drink the
broth of a bird called *čana* for the child would then be lazy.
In order to have healthy children it is highly recommended
that the broth of an aquatic bird called *asḳan* be drunk;
842 The child is formed by the sperm which is assimilated into
milk. The »milk» coagulates and fills up the matrix,
thus do children form themselves gradually. The presence
of the child in a mother's womb prevents the blood from
[843] flowing and menstruation stops. Pregnancy lasts eight
months.

842 It is impossible for a man not to procreate children. Only
women can be sterile. Sterility may occur because the
789 woman has been stopped up by a medicine-man, thus man's
»milk» can no longer penetrate into her bosom. This may be accounted for in two ways. A woman may ask a medicine-man to make her sterile, or a bad medicine-man may make a woman sterile in order to harm her family. Sterility may be cured by a medicine-man, but the task is not easy and there are few who will attempt it.

b) *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

843 A pregnant woman works but little, she most eat sufficient, but not too much, food. The child, still in the mother's womb, sucks the food absorbed by its father and mother and if they were to eat too much the child would get fat and would be unable to come out. The husband of an expectant mother must give up certain kinds or work. He cannot use a knife or an axe for the strokes of any cutting instrument might kill or wound the child. He must not wear boots lest the child's legs be crooked. If he keeps his hat on his head the skull of the child will be flat. He must not write with ink lest the child's face be covered with marks.

A pregnant woman must avoid sexual intercourse if she does 843 [845] not want to incur disgrace by having twins.

To avoid accidents and to facilitate delivery, pregnant women use certain medicines, especially the *litsitáx* root which they toast and pound into a powder in a mortar. They never wear belts or stretch themselves lest the child take a wrong position. The woman brings the child to birth in a 844 squatting posture, she holds on to a stick at this time. Her husband and an old woman give her any assistance she may need. The afterbirth is buried and the navel is cauterized with the burning stem of a gourd. At the birth, the father picks up the child and it bears his likeness, but if ist is picked up by someone else the child will resemble that person. When twins are born, which seems to occur very seldom, [845] one is taken by the mother of the woman and is brought up as her own child.

Woman cause abortion by using a certain plant (*nLọt*) 847 which looks like manioc. The root is ground and taken 824 with water. The sterilizing effect of this drug may last for two, four, or eight years.

c) *Names*

The name is given by the father when the child is from one 553 to three years old. The father may dream of an animal, an object, a sentence or a word pronounced by one of the charcters in his dream, and this becomes the name of the child. A name is often distorted, a fact which explains their queer form. For instance *čalax* »black woman» has become *načalax* and *apan-toi* »bread», *hap?ap*.

d) *Marriage*

The suiter may get the approval of his future father-in- 584 law by giving him money or cattle, but very often the autho- [583] rization of the girl's father is far less essential than that of the mother. If she opposes the marriage there is absolutely nothing that can be done. It may happen that the father

584 chooses a husband for his daughter, but he would never go
585 against his wife's wish. The ceremony is not celebrated.
The son-in-law lives first at the hut of his wife's father where
he stays for three months at least, working for him. Later
591 he can build a hut for himself. The young couple live in a
separate compartment.

Nowadays either the bride follows the bridegroom or he
goes to live with her, according to circumstances. Ordinarily
595 men have only one wife, some have two, but never more.
[593] Except for adultery a husband never beats his wife. Although
837 a woman is exposed to a severe beating if her husband disco-
vers that she has betrayed him, it does not prevent many
women from doing so. A woman will choose a day when
her husband is absent and then send a child to tell her lover
that she is alone. A couple must not be seen together for
there would be some gossip. A man generally leaves an
[578] unfaithful wife after beating her first. He challenges his
rival and they fight with knives. The different »milks»
[831] must not be mixed up.

XVI. Chiefs

622 All the members of the tribe follow the *cacique* everywhere
without protest. As for him, he is responsible for all the
members of his group. If one of the latter has committed
[672] a theft, even outside of the tribe, the *cacique* will be arrested
by the police. Quarrels among members of the same group
[627] are settled by the *cacique*. If a big *cacique* is killed in a
[726] fight his troop retreats immediately, even if the other *caciques*
are still living.

XVII. War

726 In ancient times, when a young man was going to war,
he pinched the skin of his thigh and drove the sharpened
825 bone of a jaguar into it. This operation was supposed to
make the warrior courageous. Members of a war party
did the same with a peccari's bone so they would be fierce,

with a charata (bird, *Ortalis canicollis*) bone that they might 726
rise early, and finally with an owl's bone in order to see 825
and fight in the dark.

Matako always attack at daybreak. They kill only men, 726
young or old, burn the village, and take away as captives
the women and children. When my informant was a child 721
his people fought against the Pilaga on the Pilcomayo where
they had gone fishing. The last encounter between the
Toba and the Matako took place four years ago (1929) near
Pozo del Tigre. In consequence of that conflict, the Matako
made prisoner a Toba woman, but later on they surrendered [727]
her to her people for a payment.

Toba children taken captive by the Matako were raised 727
like Matako children. Later they married women of the
tribe and had in general the same rights as the other members
of the group.

Not so long ago the Matako practiced scalping. A man who took a scalp gave it to his wife who danced to express her joy at her husband's killing an enemy.

XVIII. Dances

The dances begin at sunset and are continued until one 535
or two o'clock in the morning. These are only for unmarried
people and the dancers are always surrounded by the children
of the village; they enjoy these affairs very much. Children [868]
normally do not take part in the dances, but are sometimes
admitted among the dancers in order that they may learn
the songs and dances.

1. All participants form a circle with their faces toward
the center, the right hand on the shoulder of the person to
the right and the left hand on the waist of the person to
the left. One of the dancers starts singing very slowly and 533
everybody stamps rhythmically, the right foot marking the 535
time. After a few notes all the dancers begin to sing. The
rhythm of the song and the movement of the dancers become
livelier and livelier and gradually the stamping develops

533 into a walk, the right foot moving first and the left one being
535 slowly brought up to it. The direction of the walk is always from left to right. The rhythm of the song becomes more and more accelerated, transforming itself into a rather rapid running, always in the same direction, the right foot stamping heavily on the ground thus marking the time. After fifteen minutes more or less, the dancers stop at a signal given by their leader, then begin again.

535 2. The dancers stand in two equal lines facing each other with their arms resting on their neighbor's shoulders. Between the two files the leader stands alone. When he gives a signal both files begin moving and singing. One of the files goes toward the other while the latter withdraws at a slow trot. In the meantime the leader runs between the files and along them, going more quickly than the dancers. Each time he runs around twice he points out a dancer in one of the files, who then moves rapidly toward the opposite file, choses a dancer and draws him out. Gradually the total number of dancers diminishes. When there are only three left, the leader nods to one of the remaining three, telling him to choose a dancer in the opposite file, then the game goes on in the opposite direction.

3. The dancers form two or more files, standing one behind the other, holding each other by the waist, singing and shouting. They start running, each file trying to dislodge the other line and throw down the dancers, being careful themselves not to be separated. In order to defend themselves the files run beside each other and when they think the time has come they try to cut the others off and throw disorder into the opposite side.

4. This dance begins like the first one, the difference being that the dancers' hands rest on the shoulders and not on the hips. Once the circle has started running it is broken up suddenly at one point and divided into several files that first stamp and then start running, forming a spiral which grows tighter and tighter. When they stand so close together

that all movement is impossible except to stamp, the spiral 535
begins to unfold itself, first very slowly, then more and
more quickly. The dancers are sometimes many. The circle
divides into two files which develop simultaneously on both
sides of the enclosure.

5. The young men form a file from the center of the dance enclosure to the outer border. Each dancer puts his hand on the shoulder of one neighbor and his other hand on the hip of his other neighbor. The file starts slowly to move; the man in the center whirls himself in a circle and the others follow the movement. The movement is faster toward the outer ends of the file and is accompanied by songs. Sometimes the singing stops but the movement goes on, then the singing starts again.

From time to time the dance is interrupted by a young 832
man following a girl. After they have been running through 302
the dancing place of the village they ordinarily sleep together 836
and on the following day appear with their faces painted
red.

According to my informant the dancing songs have no 533
meaning, being mere rhythmic utterances.

XIX. Mourning Rites

A man is buried in the bush in a grave about six feet deep 764
immediately after dying. The dead are buried reclining on
their right sides with their faces toward their fields. If they
were placed in any other position they could not find the
way to their houses and they would become lost. No food
is given to the dead except a calabash half filled with water.
The soul drinks this water to quench his thirst during his
journey to the underworld. All the personal belongings of
the deceased are burned and their souls come out to join
the soul of their owner. His animals are not killed, but
when they die their souls join that of their master.

Immediately after death all grown up members of the deceased, even very remote relatives, begin to weep, ac-

764 companying themselves on rattles and drums. These laments last for about one hour after death, then begin again when the corpse is carried away to be buried and finally when they come back from the burial. But on the following day only very near relatives parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, go on weeping. Those who were already mourning for someone else weep louder than the others because they mourn for two.

765 The laments take place at sunrise and at sunset as well as in the middle of the afternoon. During the first days of mourning the near relatives of the deceased go to his home [535] to mourn. There they run and dance, going continually from one place to another and shaking their rattles with both hands. They accompany the dance with lamentations. With the exception of the wife of the deceased, women always mourn in this way, shaking rattles, dancing and lamentations. Mourning women must not appear bareheaded or with a naked face for they ought not to be seen. [533] People sing and play on rattles during the mourning period in order that the dead person may readily be forgotten. The laments which last two or three hours every day are supposed to help the living forget the dead. After six months, more or less, they weep only at dawn and even then very rarely. [302] The relatives of the dead person must cut off their hair in order not to displease the dead who would attack their heads and make them bald. The wife, at the death of her husband, observes mourning for two years. She shuts herself up in a special little hut often adjoining the hut of her married son, or daughter if she has no son.

768 The house of the deceased is pulled down and a new one built about 10 yards away. If this were not done the dead man would come back within fourteen days after death, attracted by memories of his previous life. The materials of the old house are used in the construction of the new one.

A widow may leave her home to satisfy her wants only at night. If she goes out during the day the dead man gets

angry. No one is allowed to call on her and only very young 765
boys may go into her house. She speaks only when it is
necessary to get things she needs.

A medicine-woman of the village of Las Lomitas, whose 756
husband died a year before, left her retreat in order to cure 768
a sick child belonging to her family. After every treatment
she went back to her hut. The child recovered in five days
and she resumed her mourning. At no time did she speak
with other members of her family.

In the morning and afternoon a widow plays a drum and 765
weeps. Thus she tries to forget her husband but some time
later she will think of him again and then go back to her
drum. During this period she cuts her hair three times and [342
eats her food with a fork and spoon. 264]

If a woman looses her husband shortly after marriage, he 775
may call on her frequently but if she marries another man
before two years have elapsed the spirit of her late husband 768
kills her new husband. After two years the dead man has
forgotten his wife and marries a female spirit. When a
widow dies her spirit goes to her husband and they live
together as they did on earth. Upon the death of a husband
the children are bound to support their mother unless she
marries again after the two years of mourning.

XX. Miscellanea

a) *Dreams*

Dreams are of exceptional importance to the Matako who 787
believe that everything which happens in dreams will come
to pass in real life. The dream is the life of the soul which [825]
after death becomes a spirit. During sleep the soul is
released to wander about in the world where it sees what
will happen in material life. Ordinary men as well as medicine-men
can identify images seen in dreams. Thus the
Matako Indians expect to realize in life the accomplishment

781 of their dreams. My informant, having dreamed that he was planting sugar-cane, intended to grow some.

781 Through the soul one knows what is going to happen.
For instance, if one dreams that he shall be killed, it is
774 likely that he is to die an unnatural death. If he is traveling about and dreams of home it is better to turn back. A man who is away from his wife can talk to her in the evening and she will see him in her dreams. It is the soul which walks about during the night. If one dreams of an algarroba or that he is working in a field, it means that he has still a long time to live. If during the absence of a member of the group someone dies, the absent one will dream about the dead person who appears to him naked. Generally when a traveler returns to his village there is no need to tell him of what has happened during his absence, for he is informed of everything through his dreams which occur when his soul returns to his family. Very often in dreams one sees dead relatives. The soul has gone to the underworld
[775] and paid them a visit. Sometimes the dead return by night to the houses of the living who then dream of the departed.

b) *Remedies*

824 The Indians call a certain fungus *āxọ̀lćul*. According to
278 them it is the excrement of the fox which towards morning transforms itself into a fungus. It is used as a
752 remedy for scalding. A fragment of the plant is toasted, powdered, mixed with fat and the white of an egg and spread on the burned place. The fat and the egg white are desirable but not indispensable ingredients for in a pinch the toasted powder is sufficient. This same plant sometimes obturates the penis of a sick person and prevents him from urinating. If when sucking the sick man the medicine-man gets out a fragment of this plant it most certainly means that the patient will recover. When the extremity of a
757 limb aches it is to be tied at intervals of about half an

inch; there the punctures are to be made until the blood flows. If a first treatment proves insufficient it must be repeated until loss of blood relieves congestion and eases the limb. 757

To stop a hemorrhage one must burn an old hat or some old rag and put the ashes on the wound. When one is pricked by a thorn one must suck the blood to prevent inflammation. 752

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